

# The Nation.

VOL. I.—NO. 8.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24, 1865.

\$3 PER ANNUM.

## CONTENTS.

THE WEEK.....	225	The South as It Is.....	239
General Cox and the Negroes.....	229	England.....	240
English Opinion on Davis's Guilt.....	230	Poisoning as a Science.....	242
The Swindling Epidemic.....	230	American Institute of Instruction.....	243
Friends in Disguise.....	231	LITERATURE:	
Competitive Examinations for Admission to the Military and Naval Schools.....	231	Literary Notes.....	245
Song of a Slater: Poetry.....	233	De Tocqueville in the United States.....	247
CORRESPONDENCE:		Miss Cobbe on Religious Duty.....	249
The Suffrage and the Constitution.....	233	The Sanitary Condition of New York.....	250
The Progress of Emancipation in Russia.....	235	The Story of the Great March.....	250
Feeling of the South Carolinians.....	237	SCIENCE:	
		Discoveries and Inventions.....	251
		FINANCIAL REVIEW.....	253

Three Dollars per annum, in advance; Six months, Two Dollars. When delivered by Carrier in New York or Brooklyn, Fifty Cents additional.

JOSEPH H. RICHARDS, PUBLISHER, 130 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.

## The Week.

FRIDAY brought relief to the public suspense concerning the Atlantic Cable. Two of the convoys of the *Great Eastern* arrived at Newfoundland with full particulars of the disaster which had previously been heralded in a very confused manner. The cable had in truth parted on the 2d, in nearly two thousand fathoms of water, owing, as it seems, to its being injured while hauling in for repairs. Mr. Field's diary tells how that day and nine others were spent in dragging for the lost chain; how, as is supposed, it was thrice grappled and partly raised, and how the rope broke disappointingly each time; and how the experiment was abandoned and the great ship headed for home, only when the supply of grappling materials had been exhausted. Several buoys were anchored to mark the position of the cable as thus ascertained, and so long as they were observed they appeared to ride out very rough seas. More than a thousand miles of the coil remain on board, sufficient to complete the laying, if the portion submerged can ever be picked up. We regret to notice a too general disposition to wish the enterprise ill from the start, to exult in its defeat, and to sneer at the incompetency of the Englishmen who have had it in charge—from the makers of the cable to the humblest subordinate engaged in putting it down. The record shows uncommon devotion and perseverance, not even now exhausted, and the nation which won honor by laying the Indian cable in the Persian Gulf, under immense disadvantages, has lost none by its exertions, though unsuccessful, in a much more delicate and difficult undertaking.

GOVERNOR MARVIN's address to the people of Florida on the subject of reconstruction resembles in substance that of the other Provisional Governors. Speaking of slavery as having ceased to exist without the possibility of revival, he adds that "the freedom intended (for the negro) is the full, ample, and complete freedom of the citizen of the United States." In this is included security from molestation, but "not necessarily the privilege of voting." The question of freedmen's suffrage is an open one. Unlike Governor Peirpont, Judge Marvin thinks that it may be a very proper subject for discussion by the Constitutional Convention, and is to be decided in the light of sound policy. Whenever Florida possesses a republican form of government, and "a constitution that guarantees and secures liberty to all the inhabitants alike, without distinction of color," there will be no obstacle

to her re-admission into the Union. In that day, we fancy, "full, ample, and complete freedom" and the "privilege of voting" will be found to have been joined together.

THE Fifteenth of August means in France the Emperor's birthday and the fête which celebrates it, when a grand review of eighty or a hundred thousand troops gives éclat to the day, and the illumination at night of the obelisk and fountains in the Place de la Concorde reminds the Parisian that the empire is peace. In Illinois, this date inaugurates the hunting-season, when the law permits the prairie chicken to be slaughtered by wholesale, and the men of quills and desks who have a passion for sport with never so uncertain and rusty a weapon, abandon the counting-rooms of Chicago for an excursion to the haunts of abundant and delicious game. Few need return empty-handed, although the great body of lawful hunters have been preceded by skulkers, who yearly do their best to cheat their contemporaries and posterity of an unfailing supply of meat for the larder.

M. AUGUSTE LAUGEL will hereafter contribute a fortnightly letter to THE NATION on French affairs.

THE National Teachers' Association opened its annual session in the Court House at Harrisburg, on Wednesday, the 16th, and adjourned on the following Friday. It was preceded on Tuesday evening by a meeting of the National Normal School Association at the Capitol, where a plan was submitted by Professor Hart, of Connecticut, for the establishment of a National Educational Bureau at Washington. In the discussion which followed, an amendment was offered and unanimously adopted, that a committee of seven from as many States should memorialize Congress to appropriate land or funds for the establishment of normal schools in every State. Particular reference was had to the wants of the freedmen. The gathering on Wednesday was eminently large and respectable, the railroads having reduced their rates to accommodate the excursionists from all parts of the country. Many notables were present, and some made speeches—Governors Curtin and Bradford (of Maryland), for example. The latter said that, so long as we could have universal education, he should not be solicitous to impose restrictions on universal suffrage. Professor Greene, of Rhode Island, presided, and read an animated address. One portion, which was deservedly greeted with "long-continued and vociferous applause," is worth reproducing:

"Education must be diffused throughout the South. Black and white, 'poor white' and rich white, must be educated. Not to educate them is to prepare for another civil war. To keep up perpetual jealousies, hatreds, and abuses, as has been the case for the last thirty years, is only to cherish the cancer that has been gnawing at the vitals of our republic. Shall it be done any longer? Gentlemen of this association, let us buckle on the armor, and meet the new exigency of our times. Before the war no Northern teacher dared to discuss the whole truth at the South. In morals there must be one code for the North and another for the South. There could be no free discussion in all our political contests. Southern men could come before a Northern audience and speak their sentiments freely, even vilify with impunity our ways and institutions, but the instant a Northern man attempted at the South to utter sentiments at all condemnatory of Southern institutions or Southern life, he was forced to leave the country. Is it to be so now? Can we not as educators go boldly into the Southern States and teach the truth? If not, I pray God that martial law may prevail in every Southern State till Northern men may discuss educational, political, social, moral, and religious topics in every part of the South as freely as in Faneuil Hall!"

Letters were read from General Doubleday, Professor Wayland, President Hill, of Harvard College, and General Howard. The last-

named hoped he might get from the Association some well-digested plan for freedmen's schools. Papers were read on "The Mechanism of School Teaching," on the establishment and maintenance of Normal Schools, on "The Phonetic Method of Teaching Reading," and "The Best Method of Teaching the Classics." Professor Hart's resolutions for a memorial to Congress on the subject of an Educational Bureau were adopted with some amendments. The committee appointed at the last session to consider the Oswego system of "object teaching" reported at length approvingly. Thursday was devoted to a pilgrimage to Gettysburg. On Saturday, after the adjournment, a visit was made to the coal mines at Mauch Chunk.

Two of the public institutions of this vicinity have attracted attention from certain charges brought against them of cruel treatment of their inmates. In the House of Refuge, on Randall's Island, a bright boy who had been guilty, before entering, of robbing his employer, died under circumstances which pointed to flogging as the cause. An examination of the case was had and the fact of flogging, perhaps excessive, elicited, but the doctor denied any connection between the punishment and the death of the lad. The head-keeper of the King's County Penitentiary, a Mr. McNeeley, was accused by an assistant of employing prisoners and keepers for his private benefit; of keeping cattle and swine at the expense of the county; of permitting and ordering male and female prisoners to be whipped; of allowing prisoners to get intoxicated; of providing prisoners and keepers with unwholesome food, etc. The board of supervisors directed the standing penitentiary committee, augmented by Supervisor Clark, to investigate these charges. The majority reported them not proved. Mr. Clark alone was convinced that they were mainly true, and that enough had been admitted by McNeeley to show that he was unfit to hold his position longer, to wit: that he had made wagons and furniture, manufactured manure, raised swine, sent keepers and prisoners to work on his own property outside the prison, and whipped prisoners with a cowhide. The matter of improper food was not so clearly established. Nevertheless, McNeeley was re-elected keeper for three years, by a vote of fifteen to eight.

ONLY twenty-five hundred of the colored children of the District of Columbia, or less than a fourth of the estimated number, are educated at the schools established by the charitable societies of the North, and at the few private schools whose tuition is paid for. It seems it is not enough that the authorities at Washington have avoided the charge of educating this class of youth, which was imposed upon them by a law of Congress. The chivalry who reside in the vicinity of Fourteenth Street and Massachusetts Avenue object to the colored schools which General Howard has established there, and have asked for their removal on the ground of their causing a depreciation of real estate. If we are not mistaken, some of the largest and shrewdest real estate owners at the Capital are colored men, whose children are studiously neglected by the corporation which levies taxes on their property. We wait to hear a protest from them. One of the complainants is Judge Wylie, who has an unenviable notoriety in connection with the trial of Miss Harris before the criminal court over which he presides. He gains nothing by this extra-judicial manifestation, but the public get a still clearer idea of his character.

POLITICAL conventions are in session on every hand. The Mississippi State Convention assembled at Jackson on the 14th. Gov. Sharkey examined into the loyalty and qualifications of the members, and administered the amnesty oath when necessary. The rest of the day was consumed in organizing. On the 15th, the president was directed to appoint a committee of fifteen, who should, upon enquiry, report such alterations and amendments of the Constitution as might be proper and expedient to restore the State to the Union, and protect its citizens from invasion and domestic rebellion. Two of this committee were specially to consider what action ought to be taken in regard to the act of secession of Jan. 9, 1861, and the executive, legislative,

and judicial measures that grew out of and succeeded it. On the 16th, little was done. On the 17th, the constitutional committee reported in favor of a change in the constitution so as to prohibit slavery for ever, and to rid the instrument of all those portions which relate to slavery; also an ordinance providing for the election of Congressmen, members of the Legislature, Governor, and other State officers, on the first Monday in October, and empowering all judicial and ministerial officers now in office to hold their places till their term expires. The committee of two reported an ordinance ratifying all the acts of the State officers made during the war but not in aid of it, and not inconsistent with the constitutions of the United States and the State of Mississippi. Both reports were adopted. Two other ordinances were passed to a first reading: one in the spirit of that last mentioned, and a second which prohibits the Legislature from passing any law imposing any civil disability or punishment or forfeiture of estate upon any citizens engaged in the late war with the United States, or for the political opinions occasioned thereby. A memorial to the President was adopted, praying him not to garrison the State with negro troops. The Maine Democratic Convention met in Portland on the 15th. The chairman said if Democratic principles had prevailed, there would have been no war (and might have added, there would have been no peace). The duty of the Democracy is now to frustrate the design of the Republican party to destroy State sovereignty, by forcing its policy on the South at the point of the bayonet. The President has withstood this purpose, and the Democracy owe him a debt of gratitude. One of the resolutions afterwards passed acknowledges this debt, and pledges support of Mr. Johnson in his present course. Another declares that each State alone can constitutionally regulate the suffrage of its electors. A third would make the sums advanced by towns, cities, and the State a legitimate charge upon the Federal Government. The Hon. James Howard, of Portland, was nominated for Governor, by acclamation. The Pennsylvania Union State Convention, at Harrisburg on the 17th, was disturbed by a remarkable resolution, introduced by General Lemuel Todd, which assumed that the convention, out of gratitude to the soldiers, would nominate none but those who had "proved their loyalty and patriotism by service in the field against the enemies of the Republic." This was vigorously combated by Thaddeus Stevens, and was at last referred to the committee on resolutions. When reported back it was in the shape of a general recommendation to have especial regard for "our citizen soldiers" in nominations for office. General Todd was dissatisfied still, but the result must have mollified him. General John F. Hartranft was nominated for Auditor-General, and Colonel Jacob M. Campbell for Surveyor-General. The resolutions express the conviction that the President's experiment of reconstruction has already shown that the people lately in rebellion cannot yet be safely entrusted again with political rights, and that the conquered States require to be held in subjection until the inalienable rights of man are secured within their borders. Confiscation to pay the expenses of the war is strongly urged, an increased protective policy insisted on. The Monroe Doctrine is alluded to rather than affirmed. Secretary Stanton and Governor Curtin are highly praised for their public services; and, finally, the Democratic party is arraigned for its behavior during the rebellion. The Minnesota Democratic Convention met at St. Paul on the 16th. They resolved to sustain the reconstruction policy of President Johnson, to maintain the Monroe Doctrine, to oppose a protective tariff, and to denounce the suspension of the *habeas corpus*. The "radical" Democracy of Ohio held a convention at Columbus on the 17th. They reiterated the doctrine of State sovereignty, and denied everything else—the right to draft, to suspend the *habeas corpus*, to hold military commissions, to have a public debt, national banks and a national currency, to emancipate slaves, to confer the suffrage upon negroes, etc. Even General Cox and his colonization scheme, which have been well received at the South, were denounced, apparently because having once begun to say "no," there was no stopping. The New York State Democratic Convention will be held at Albany on the 6th of September. The North Carolina election will take place on the 21st of September, and the one hundred and twenty delegates chosen will meet at Raleigh on the 2d of October. A Constitutional Convention at Denver voted almost unanimously, on the 14th, that it was expedient to form a State out of Colorado.

THE Democratic party evidently had two ways of returning, or trying to return, to office and power. They might either assail and unseat the Administration, or else persuade the Executive to "Tylerize." In default of any reasonably hopeful ground of attack, they seem in their conventions thus far to have adopted the latter plan. They are profuse in their praise of Mr. Johnson's policy, and resolve on every occasion to stand by him in his adherence to the Constitution and regard for the rights of States. What will they say to Secretary Harlan's speech on Thursday last, when serenaded in Washington? He scouted the idea that the President would be untrue to those who elected him, and asked: "What act of his differs from those of his predecessor in any material point of view?" He concluded that no complaint can be lodged against the one which would not apply with equal force to the other. Are the Democracy unconsciously burning incense to a "tyrant" and "usurper?"

THE Nashville convention of the colored citizens of Tennessee assembled on the 10th and closed its sessions on the 14th. In the deliberations a prominent part was taken by the ministers, who made the most elaborate arguments in favor of suffrage. Two of the members were pointed out as having voted for Gen. Jackson for President. Gen. Fisk delivered an address full of sympathy. He explained his intentions as a commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and urged his hearers to cultivate land on shares. He said that his circular had found favor even with Gen. Gideon J. Pillow, who had promised to co-operate in its objects. The ballot would naturally follow the Bible and the bayonet. The convention adopted resolutions making each county delegation a committee to look after the interests of the colored people throughout the State, and report grievances to Gen. Fisk; also providing for the preparation of statistics of the colored population—their number, occupation, property and taxes, places of worship, scholars old and young, etc. The birthday of President Lincoln and the 1st of January were set apart as days of jubilee to be celebrated in all time. Addresses to the white and colored people of Tennessee and a protest to Congress were read and referred to the State Committee.

WE publish this week a very able letter, signed "T. F.," on the relation of the States to the general Government as regards the franchise. Without concurring in all respects with the writer, we are free to say that he furnishes a powerful defence of the doctrine in which, in our opinion, the true solution of the difficulty with regard to the definition of what constitutes a republican form of government is to be found. He places the power of deciding what is, and what is not, a republican form of government in the hands of Congress, and makes it a legitimate and inevitable deduction from the duty which the Constitution prescribes of guaranteeing such form of government to the several States. And in exercising this power, Congress would not be bound, as the Supreme Court must be, by legal rules of construction, but by political considerations solely. Its enquiry would be, not what the framers of the Constitution meant by the phrase, but what the experience of three generations had shown to be necessary for the safety and success of the Government.

A BUST of Mr. Lincoln was set up with impressive ceremonies in the African M. E. Church, at Raleigh, on the 3d inst. Above it was inscribed the closing paragraph of his last inaugural. In Edgecomb County, North Carolina, a large planter and former slave-owner, Dr. Garratt, is arranging with the Freedmen's Bureau for the employment of two hundred hands for a year and a half. He is willing to take whole families on liberal terms, giving wages even to the children who may be useful. His proposals are highly approved. The occurrence of many violent and brutal acts in western South Carolina, on the part of planters towards their employes, has drawn from Gen. Van Wyck a severe rebuke of his subordinate who permitted contracts to contain authority for inflicting corporal punishment on the laborer, and a warning against a repetition of the outrages referred to. He exposes also the purpose of many to embarrass the working of free labor, that it may contrast unfavorably with the compulsory system now abolished. Slavery and the lash, he reminds them, have passed away together. An instrument of torture, said to have been invented since the demise of

the system, has appeared in Florida. A woman near Tallahassee punished her female servant by placing sticks between her fingers and tying them tightly together, with the most excruciating effect. She was complained of to the provost-marshal. Gen. Slocum has sent out instructions from his headquarters at Vicksburg to the officers of his department, to ensure their co-operation with the Freedmen's Bureau in regard to the issuing of rations, the disposal of lands, and the protection of the colored people in the spirit of the emancipation proclamation. He stigmatizes "the professed friend of the negro, who is constantly dwelling upon the wrongs that have been inflicted upon him by his former master, and constantly representing to him that the Government has not yet granted to him all the privileges to which he is entitled," as "the worst enemy of his race." The colored people of Lexington, Kentucky, have appealed successfully to Gen. Palmer against the city ordinances which obstructed their liberty of assembling for religious worship.

THE scandal and monetary trepidation occasioned in this city by the defalcation in the Phoenix Bank were assuredly not relieved by the two grand swindling operations which followed hard upon that exposure. Mr. P. R. Mumford, a gold broker, having made use of trust funds for his speculative purposes, lost them all, and then undertook to recover them by an ingenious but immoral procedure. To redeem them from the hands of those who had loaned him their value upon them, he obtained something like \$100,000 in gold from various brokers, to whom he gave his checks in return. The banks where these were soon presented declined in each instance to receive them, from a lack of any deposit to Mumford's credit. Meanwhile, the fraudulent financier replaced and locked up the funds entrusted to him, and then gave out that he had failed. His victims have also failed—to become reconciled to their loss, and he has been arrested. Much more extensive was the proceeding of Mr. Edward Ketchum, a member of the house of Messrs. Morris Ketchum, Son & Co., one of the wealthiest stock exchange and private banking-houses in the city. Unfortunate speculations in stocks were the probable cause of his forging the signatures of several brokers and the certifications of the bank itself on the gold checks of the New York Bank, besides abstracting the securities of his firm, in consequence of which they have been obliged to suspend under a burden of three or four millions of indebtedness. The property of the guilty party has been attached, but no trace of his whereabouts has been discovered. In this connection we may note the arrest of Townsend, the clerk who robbed the Townsend Savings Bank, of New Haven, of \$100,000 on the 22d of May. He was caught by two Philadelphia detectives in Liverpool on the 29th of last month.

ONE of the city dailies, which might have displayed less ignorance or less credulity, echoed the other morning the stale charge of the Copperheads that the Abolitionists had taken very good care not to serve in the war which they had provoked. It alleged as "an indisputable fact" that "one looks almost in vain upon the list of officers, and upon the muster-rolls of the rank and file, for any of the names that used to figure in the Abolition gatherings." A correspondent, himself a prominent abolitionist of former times and father of a Union officer, immediately published a list of thirty-one distinguished men whose sons, grandsons, or sons-in-law upheld, upon the field of battle, the anti-slavery principles of their sires. The eyesight of the *Times* was bad when it overlooked James G. Birney, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the Tappans, William Jay, Francis G. Shaw, Gerrit Smith, Henry Ward Beecher, Frederick Douglass, Henry Wilson, and others as well known.

M. J. A. SAXTON writes a valuable letter to Professor F. J. Child, of Harvard College, which has been given to the public. From it we extract a few items: In the Department of the South, including Charleston, the Sea Islands, and Savannah, there are upwards of a hundred schools for the freed people, with a list of 12,467 pupils, and an average attendance of 9,842. There are some fifteen schools on the Islands which are maintained under the official supervision of the United States Tax Commissioners, by the rents of the forfeited lands reserved for this purpose. There are nineteen public schools in Charles-



ton, day and evening, but not one of the five or six thousand whites of that city who have taken the oath of allegiance has offered his assistance in teaching the adults, or to aid the elevation of the negro in any way. The colored people have started debating societies in Charleston and Beaufort; they have a "Savannah Educational Association," a savings bank at Beaufort, with deposits amounting to nearly \$100,000, invested in United States bonds, a Union League in Charleston with a numerous fellowship, and a female society for charitable objects. The freedmen there are also making an effort to establish a newspaper through a joint stock company. General Sherman's famous order has been so far carried out by Gen. Saxton, that on the 1st of June 40,000 of the 100,000 freed people to be provided for had been colonized, and received their allotments upon the islands of South Carolina and Georgia, and the coasts assigned to them.

It must be a somewhat melancholy sight for the people of Nantucket to see, one after another, the finest houses upon the island shipped bodily to towns upon the main. Yet this is now the most conspicuous commerce of the place, which once was a bustling emporium for the ships of all nations. The decline, as everybody knows, is due to the revolution in the whale fishery.

THE present population of Chicago is reckoned at something over 200,000, which is double what the city had in 1860. The directory shows 11,000 more names than last year. There are barely sufficient tenement houses to accommodate this rapid growth. By 1867 it is expected that two great undertakings will have been accomplished—the tunnel under Lake Michigan for a supply of pure water, and the lowering of the Illinois and Michigan Canal below the level of the lake, in order that the Chicago River may connect the two, and so be cleared of its impurities, which have long annoyed and endangered the city. Last year the fire-alarm telegraphic system was put in operation. Building, manufactures, and commerce have all flourished in spite of the war. Periodical literature is abundant: there are six dailies, two of which are in German.

WE have a tolerable conception of the ravages inflicted upon the South by the civil warfare now ended, but not so lively, we confess, as that of a French journalist, who says:

"An idea may be formed of the desolation caused by the late disastrous war in America, on learning that wild beasts, unknown in Virginia for upwards of a century, have made their appearance there in great numbers, and that the battle-fields especially are infested with enormous bears which have issued from the depths of the mountains."

THE King of Portugal, on closing the Cortes, pronounced for the final abolition of slavery in the Portuguese possessions. Unfortunately for Brazil, she cannot be counted in this category. She has apparently a well-intentioned emperor, but a very obstinate slaveholding aristocracy, which will be strengthened by whatever American rebels escape to her with something better than Confederate currency in their pockets.

THE normal schools of France are to be charged hereafter with keeping frequent and accurate meteorological records; and the recent terrible tornadoes which have devastated the continent and France particularly, are to be mapped down in their length and breadth, according to the observations made in the districts traversed by them. The Duc de Persigny is said to have initiated this latter practice.

THE Swedish pastor, Lindback, who was condemned to death for poisoning three invalid paupers belonging to his parish (to free them from misery, as he declared), made, like Dr. Pritchard, his confession. He explained how the contemplation of suffering and wretchedness led him to hasten the death which would bring relief. He had observed that very few die of years, but the great majority from some external cause which God either provides or at least does not hinder. Many, in the flower of their age, destroy themselves involuntarily by a bad use of their intelligence. Many perish under the treatment of the most skillful physicians—some being thrust back from a near recovery. Science, as

well as ignorance, plays a leading part in the causes productive of death. A merciful God, he thought, who was aware of all this, would not judge him harshly for abridging the pains of his fellow-creatures.

SOME of the English statistics for the past year are of interest. The cost of the police amounted in round numbers to £1,700,000, or £43,000 in excess of 1863. In England and Wales there were 100,067 cases of drunkenness or drunken behavior, against 94,745 in 1863. In England alone 51,058 offences, great and small, were committed, 28,704 persons were arrested, and 18,226 appeared before the courts. Coroners' verdicts were passed upon 1,337 suicides: 978 men, 359 women. The average for the six years 1858-63 establishes a proportion of 67 suicides to a million of inhabitants. Eleven men were married subsequently to a divorce, and 9 women. Half of these instances occurred in London. The exact age of nearly two-thirds of the couples married was ascertained. More than three-fourths, men as well as women, were under thirty. 228 girls were only sixteen, and 30 still younger. 177 men and 42 women took a fresh start in life after their seventieth year. One old man of ninety-two chose a wife of eighty-one.

A FRENCH actress in the theatre at Grenelle was winning considerable applause in the "*Supplice d'une Femme*," when she discovered a fellow-player casting sheep's-eyes at a lady in a neighboring box. Transfixed with jealousy, she resolved to commit suicide openly on the stage. The ruling passion being strong even in death, she desired to produce the greatest dramatic effect possible, and, having taken a powerful dose of laudanum, calculated the time when it would operate, and arranged to have a bouquet thrown at her *in articulo mortis*. The party charged with this business was alone punctual. The poison followed the flowers at a long interval. The applause had ceased, the false swain had disappeared unrepentant behind the scenes, and only an anti-climax was possible when the crisis at last overtook the heroine. Nor was she allowed the consolation of dying. Means were promptly and successfully taken to rescue her.

ABD-EL-KADER was recently on his way to the Tuileries. He rode in a carriage with four horses, and wore conspicuously the cross of the legion of honor. There met him on the Rue de Rivoli the General Lamoricière, who in 1847 had conquered the emir. Each recognized the other with emotion, but passed without greeting. The victor was on foot in plain citizen's clothes.

FEARS of a clerical reaction have been excited in Italy by the negotiations of Vegezzi with the Pope. The result is seen in the formation of societies of free thinkers, similar to those which exist in Belgium. Such have appeared at Milan and Sienna, and even at Florence. Their main object is to rid civil society completely of religious jurisdiction. They are so unreasonable as to desire that a man may die without the aid of a priest, "a thing now absolutely impossible," we are told, "because almost all the cemeteries in Italy belong to religious societies." A practical measure to meet this hard necessity has already been projected—the purchase of a burying-ground, which shall dispense with the consecration of the Church. On the other hand, a tenderness of conscience is noted in the clerical party. There are those among the friends of the temporal Papacy and the enemies of Italian unity who have scruples about voting for deputies to the parliament at Florence. Is not this, they ask, to recognize the legitimacy of that body, and, by the same act, the doctrine of the united Italy which it represents? The Pope, on being consulted, is much embarrassed. Pressed for a decision, he substitutes prudence and good sense for omniscience and infallibility, and leaves the whole matter to the individual conscience.

THE election returns in France are claimed as favorable by the friends and opponents of the Government alike. It is insisted that the majorities cannot be interpreted superficially, but that beneath them are abundant proofs of liberal aspirations. The anxiety of the *Constitutionnel* to have the figures flattering to the Emperor has been likened to the obsequiousness of the chemist who said to a sovereign: "Sire, the gases will now have the honor of combining before you."



*Articles on any of the subjects usually discussed in this journal will be received from any quarter. If used, they will be liberally paid for; if rejected, they will be returned to the writers on the receipt of the requisite amount of postage stamps.*

*All Communications which pertain to the literary management of THE NATION should be addressed to the Editor.*

### GENERAL COX AND THE NEGROES.

THERE is no question on which our political doctors disagree more widely than this: "What is to be done with the negro?" From the very beginning of the agitation of the slavery question, this interrogatory was regarded as final and conclusive of the whole matter. The postulate being assumed that nothing could be done with the negro but what was doing with him, it followed that any attempt to do anything else was absurd and impossible. The suppression of the rebellion, however, and that of slavery with it, has forced the fact upon all thinking minds—and on many minds that do not think—that something else must be done with him, and everybody seems to be ready with an infallible scheme. The latest that we have noticed is contained in a letter from Gen. J. D. Cox, the Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio, to some enquiring friends in Oberlin, anxious for the political orthodoxy of their candidate. The distinguished services of Gen. Cox during the war, and the confidence of the Republicans of Ohio in him, evinced by this nomination, should secure to the opinions he has thus expressed a full consideration and a respectful treatment.

Gen. Cox assumes that there is a radical and ineradicable hostility between the white and black races at the South which will make political unity impossible; that a struggle for supremacy must follow any attempt to compel such unity, which must end in the subjection or extirpation of the weaker party. The remedy he suggests is the separation of the whites and blacks by assigning to the latter a territory formed out of contiguous portions of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and organizing thereupon a black dependency of a territorial character, under the protection and nurture of the United States, the government to be wholly in their own hands, with such assistance only at the start as may be necessary or convenient. He does not propose a coercive collection of all the colored population in this promised land, but thinks that the attractions it would hold out to them would secure their voluntary migration to it. Gen. Cox admits that there are difficulties attending the carrying his scheme into effect, in which proposition, at least, we cordially agree with him. Only we hold the difficulties to be nothing less than impossibilities, and his remedy no better than the disease, were it possible to apply it.

General Cox appeals to history to show the difficulty with which different nationalities have amalgamated in the old world. The Norman and the Saxon, the Gaul and the Frank, were centuries in amalgamating, and thence he infers that political unity cannot exist between races of more distinctly marked separation. But he does not allow for the immensely greater rapidity with which opinions and customs and habits change in these latter days. The printing-press, the steamship, and the railway have given to a decade now changes which a century could not compass five hundred years ago. And his admission that the fusion of races "from the eastern shore of Germany to the western coast of Ireland" is already so complete on this continent, that there are few Yankees "in whose veins is not mixed the blood of several," appears to us fatal to his argument. History does not repeat herself, as is often rhetorically flourished in our ears. The race ever accommodates itself to new conditions, and forgets the old ones on which it has turned its back. If nations from every clime and of every tongue can agree to live together in political unity at the North, why may we not hope that common sense and common interest may make political unity possible at the South, between races that have been for generations in contact with each other? Such theories as these, however unintentionally, have a grave tendency to aggravate the very difficulties their authors most deprecate.

Why cannot the whites and blacks live together in amity and political equality after emancipation? There is not the least objection to the neighborhood of the negro, nor to his contact, as long as he is a slave.

It is the element of freedom that vitiates his nature and makes him an intolerable nuisance. Gen. Cox could hardly look into the faces of the colored people in the northernmost slave States without seeing written upon them the proofs that there is no insuperable antipathy between the white and the black race. Is it inconceivable that in no very long time the former may find it possible to live on fair terms of political equality with the latter, as different classes and nationalities do with us, when that equality is firmly established? We do not agree with Gen. Cox that "reflecting men in the Southern States" will fall in with his plan. Such know too well the politico-economical necessity of black labor under which they lie. Reflecting men of no nation ever consent to part with the labor on which the prosperity of every community rests. The late slaveholding class yet cling to the idea that slavery in some form will be accorded to them, and the outcry and agitation against the extension of political rights to the negroes will be kept up as long as they see a possibility of that beatific consummation. But when the nation has definitively freed every slave, and put his own protection into his own hands by giving him the ballot and the bayonet, and the safeguard of the national arm while necessary besides, we do not believe human nature South will be found materially different from human nature North. It will make the best of its new condition, which it will soon find to have bettered the old beyond its fears and beyond its hopes.

Another main difficulty Gen. Cox would have to encounter would be the unwillingness of the blacks themselves to escape into his new city of refuge. If there be a quality of the negro's nature stronger than another, it is his love of his native home. He has had few reasons enough to love it, yet nothing but the infernal furies of slavery could drive him to break the ties that bound him to it. For fifty years or more the whole legislative policy of the slave States has been directed to compel the free negroes to forsake the neighborhood of the slaves, whom they infected by the sight of their freedom. The cruelty of the laws and the villanies to which the public sentiment of the South subjected this unhappy class have never been equalled in the case of any oppressed race not actually enslaved. And, on the other hand, the Colonization Society tempted them with lands and political equality in Africa, and Hayti invited them to enter in and possess with her that fairest of the sea-girt isles. But neither cruelties nor bribes could separate them from the soil they loved, though it had been but an unjust step-mother to them. And should they consent to congregate themselves in the Utopia which Gen. Cox would provide for them, what safeguard would they have from the irruptions and depredations of their enemies, who would hem them about? The Creeks, and Cherokees, and Seminoles could give them better warning as to that. A standing army of the United States would be needed for their defence against their hostile neighbors. It is better to face the difficulty manfully now, in full faith in the supremacy of the democratic principle for the regulation of societies, than to endeavor to evade it by schemes like these, even were they practicable.

There is but one key to the problem, "What is to be done with the negro?" And that is, Justice. The nation has restored him to his liberty, and is bound in honor and in self-interest to see that it is secured to him. We believe that it has not learnt the lessons of the last few years so ill as to intend leaving him in the power of his old oppressors. It may permit experiments to be tried, and the former ruling class to be proved incompetent to govern now, out of their own mouths and by their own actions. But it does not mean to deliver either itself or its black allies bound into their hands. A republican form of government and none other will be guaranteed to each of the pardoned States;—a republican form of government, in which the governing power will be lodged in the hands of the majority, on equal terms, without regard to race or color. The rebels did not find us the cowards they thought to find us when they rose in arms; they will not find us the fools they hope to find us now that our foot is on their necks. The only indemnity for the past that we demand is security for the future, and that we can only have through absolute political justice to the negro. That justice he will have, though an armed occupation of the rebel country be necessary during the existing generation. And General Cox may be assured, should he live to serve his country in civil life as long as he

served her well in the field, that he will see the impossible done—whites and blacks living together in political, industrial unity, and enjoying the prosperity and happiness which spring only from impartial liberty.

#### ENGLISH OPINION ON DAVIS'S GUILT.

OUR London correspondent, who was in the darkest days one of the ablest and most effective supporters of the cause of the United States Government, has, in his letter this week, produced an argument against the infliction of capital punishment on Jefferson Davis which deserves attention, as embodying the opinions of that portion of the English public which has never sympathized with the Confederacy. The gist of it is, that the judgment formed of the nature of Davis's offence by this generation may be reversed by the next; that there is a real moral difference between crimes committed by a man in his public capacity, as the head of a government or army, and those committed by him as a private individual; and that capital punishment is barbarous.

The last of these will, of course, apply to any case as well as Davis's, so we need not discuss it here. The production of the other two, however, shows how completely even friendly English critics, who have observed the late contest from a distance, have failed to catch the real point on which the American public has relied for its moral justification in carrying it on. To ask Americans to place Davis in the same category as Napoleon, is to ask them to surrender not only their whole case against Davis, but the fundamental doctrines of their political system. Napoleon derived his claims to immunity at the hands both of the Bourbons and the allies, not simply from the fact that he had been the recognized head of a belligerent power, but that the revolution to which he owed his elevation was morally justifiable; that the rule of the Bourbon dynasty was rightfully overthrown; and that their restoration, by the aid of foreign bayonets, was an immoral act, and gave them no valid claim to the allegiance of Napoleon or any other Frenchman. Louis XVIII. had, perhaps, a legal right to slay him, but he had no moral right to do so, and it is from the moral point of view that posterity looks at these things.

The same thing may be said of the proposal to shoot Washington. The reason why everybody now acknowledges that to have executed him would have been a crime, is not simply their admiration of his personal character, but their belief that his cause was a righteous one.

It may be said, of course, that people's estimate of the goodness or badness of causes changes from generation to generation, just as their estimate of the goodness or badness of men. But there are certain features about this Southern rebellion which, in the opinion of the American public, are distinctive, and mark it off from any other recorded in history, by certain broad lines. It was a revolt, in the first place, against the only government on earth which has been established after full and fair discussion by the free will and consent of the governed. It was, moreover, the only revolt on record which was not caused by solid palpable grievances, capable of being, or actually enumerated on paper; and, last of all, it was the only revolt ever set on foot avowedly to avoid a remote and only probable risk of interference with the institution of slavery.

Now, granting that the distinction which the long divorce between morality and politics in the Old World has created between political and private crimes be one of which it is right that European governments should take notice, because men there are bred under it, it does not follow that Americans should allow it to be set up in justification of crimes against their peace; because, apart from the institution of slavery, it is a distinction which has never been recognized in American politics. As between white men, at least—and Davis is a white man—the political institutions of this country have never been based, as those of nearly every other country are, on mere force or tradition. Everything has been done that can be done to give opinion full play, and to embody in the laws the highest moral sentiment of the whole community. Therefore, even supposing Davis had not revolted in support of slavery, and even supposing the crime of treason was not, as it is, defined by the Constitution and made punishable by statute, his revolting against a Government like this, without any other excuse than a desire to change or to assert a naked right, was, we insist upon

it, a worse crime than revolt against any other government in the world could be, and, if anything can deserve hanging, would deserve it.

The argument drawn from the chance of opinions changing as to the nature of his crime in the next generation, derives all its force from the theory that his offence was, as treason generally is in Europe, merely a conventional offence created by statute. On conventional matters, of course, opinions do change from age to age and year to year; but if Americans believe anything earnestly and fervently, it is that they have, under their system of government, elevated it from the rank of an offence against a particular form of government, or a particular order of things, into the rank of a crime against society; that they have provided a political machinery which renders an appeal to armed force for the decision of political differences an offence so dark that no lapse of time, nothing short of a total revolution in our fundamental ideas of morality, can suffice to change its complexion in men's eyes.

Nothing could illustrate better than our correspondent's plea the confusion which has been wrought in the Old World in men's notions of right and wrong by centuries of war and revolution, in which little else than the interests of families or of individuals was at stake, and in which, if principle was ever visible, it was only dimly seen and at rare intervals.

#### THE SWINDLING EPIDEMIC.

THE *Evening Post* and some other journals are disposed to ascribe the plague of forgeries and swindlings which has showed itself in the last few weeks to the influence of the paper currency in fostering the spirit of speculation. There is no doubt that the inflation of the currency, and its sensitiveness to the influence of military events, has during the past four years given an unusual impetus to speculation. But to ascribe the exploits of Ketchum, Jenkins, Mumford & Co. to it is, in our opinion, to be guilty of very slashing and reckless generalization. The spirit of speculation is nothing new in Wall Street. It was there before the war, and so was the eager desire to get rich suddenly, to procure fine clothes, fast horses, and fine houses. There is probably no "Street" in the world in which this spirit has been for many years more rampant; but its presence is due not to the nature of the currency, but the condition of the country. There is no more eagerness, in our opinion, to get rich quickly here than in France or England, but the means of getting rich quickly are within the reach of a great number, and it is this, and not the peculiar nature of the currency, which creates speculation.

The material resources of the United States are enormous, and it is only within the last twenty years that the development of them has fairly begun. Such mineral wealth of all kinds is nowhere else to be found; railroads have nowhere else the importance they possess here, and when a population as energetic as ours flings itself on such a harvest, the gains of many are naturally very great, the disappointment of those who do not gain naturally very great also. Moreover, the class which has the shrewdness and intelligence to speculate here is very large, larger than in any other country. Nearly every boy in America has a knowledge of business and of investments, and the mode of making them, such as only few men in Europe ever acquire; and the shares in most enterprises are sold so low that nearly everybody who has a little money to spare, and everybody has some, has the means of getting hold of them. The result is that the "commercial spirit," as social philosophers now call it—or, in other words, the spirit of the age—is more widely diffused here than elsewhere, and not during the war alone, but at all times.

Moreover, we venture to assert that, judged, as they ought to be judged, not so much by the number of times they fall as by the number and nature of the temptations they resist—for this is the real test of virtue—Wall Street men are the honestest men of their class in the world. We doubt if there is any community in which swindling is so easy as in this. For instance, nowhere else are checks so generally used as they are here in making payments of money. On the continent of Europe they are entirely unknown; in England they are chiefly used in the transfer of large sums. Here almost every sum over ten dollars is paid in this way. Now the field this opens up to the forger and the swindler is immense, and yet how few avail themselves of it; how rarely we hear of a forged check, or of a check drawn without

assets to meet it. We venture to assert, moreover, that a man of respectable appearance might travel through the United States and find less difficulty in paying his expenses in his own checks on any neighboring bank, than he would in getting a twenty pound or even a ten pound Bank of England note cashed in any part of England where he was a stranger. And the small amount of scrutiny bestowed on signatures in Wall Street, as illustrated by Ketchum's success in passing off such clumsy forgeries as his were, shows the general prevalence of a confidence between men which could not exist if it were often abused. This very carelessness in the mode of doing business, which we have heard so much denounced during the last few days, is itself a proof that honesty and good faith are the rule; knavery of very rare occurrence.

We do not, for our part, look for any speedy change in these matters. We shall, we hope, never see men as distrustful here as they are in the Old World, until the country becomes as well filled, its resources as nearly exhausted, its capital as plentiful, and the means of increasing it as scarce as they are in England or Holland; and that period is, thank heaven, still remote enough to leave us the hope that our morality will, when it comes time, be so well rooted that it will not be affected by our material condition.

We do not intend, by any means, to set up as defenders of Wall Street practices or of the Wall Street spirit. We think the genius of the place is in many respects an odious demon; but this practice of ascribing the great social phenomena of the day, of which the speculating spirit is one, to one cause, such as the paper currency, is the quackery of social science. Of course, if the abundance of greenbacks leads men to rob the banks and disgrace their families, all we have to do is to come back to specie payments to restore the reign of virtue, just as the pill-venders treat all diseases as local affections and have a medicine for each that goes "right to the spot." For our part, we despair of putting down rascality by giving the rascals good advice. The true way to cure the evils of society is to improve the whole circle of social influence. The morality of Wall Street, the theatre, and the press, and all other institutions, will be found to bear a pretty constant ratio to the morality of the community at large, and the means which are found to be most efficacious in improving the latter will be found to operate beneficially on the former also.

#### FRIENDS IN DISGUISE.

It is astonishing how mistaken men can be because they are so stupid as to judge of other men by their deeds. The impression is very general—we may say that it is all but universal—throughout the North that Mr. A. H. Stephens was an enemy of the Union, in that he exerted all his powers, which even his enemies admit to be great, in compassing its destruction. He "went with his State" when that State went out of the Union, and because he held that his first duty was to his State, not to the nation. He accepted the second office in "the new nation," the vice-presidency, and, had anything happened that should have brought about the shelving or the burying of Mr. J. Davis, he would have become "President of the Confederate States of America," and would have been compelled to wage the deadliest kind of deadly warfare against the United States—unless he had decided that it was his duty to care no more for a Confederate oath than he had cared for a Union oath. He announced to the world that the Southern Confederacy had discovered the true secret of social life, and that it lay in founding society on slavery. He went further, in offensive expression, than any other man of equal talents on the Southern side, for there was something peculiarly grating in the declaration, from such a man, that we were all wrong in supposing that men who labored for a livelihood were fit for civilized existence. No wonder that we all thought Mr. Stephens a rebel of the impurest water.

But it seems that we were all mistaken, all wrong, and that this gentleman, instead of being an enemy of the Union, was a Federal of the Federalists—a Federalist of the old stock, indeed. This interesting fact—and it is uncommonly interesting, if it be a fact—we learn from a paragraph in the *Journal of Commerce*, giving a brief account of a visit that was lately made to Mr. Stephens by a gentleman recently returned from Boston. "Mr. Stephens," says our contemporary, "is

said to have appeared patiently submissive, expressing himself as having never been an enemy to the Government, but as having accepted public office in the Confederacy with hopes of contributing more speedily to a settlement of the national difficulties." So that we are keeping our best friend shut up in Fort Warren, all the while supposing that we have an enemy there! We are dull fellows, according to Mr. Stephens, and "can't see" the difference between friend or foe, or we should let him out of prison, and give him a pension, as a man who had been injured in the war for the Union.

Then there is another friend of the Union whom we have ungratefully locked up in Fort Pulaski: Mr. Trenholm, to wit, who was Confederate Secretary of the Treasury. Can't a stupid people see that in compelling us to create a national debt, Mr. Trenholm was simply forcing us to receive a national blessing, according to the wise declaration of Mr. Jay Cooke, whose success entitles all that he says to be received as gospel truth? Why, if it had n't been for the action of such gentlemen as Messieurs Stephens and Trenholm, we might not have owed a dollar at this time; and one shudders to think what must have been the consequences of so awful a deprivation as that. Then there is Mr. Davis himself. If Mr. Stephens was our warm friend, Mr. Davis must have been our friend at red heat. He sacrificed himself, and slavery, and his family, only that the world might be taught how powerful a nation is the American Republic. The harder he hit us and the more fervent were his curses at our expense, the greater is the proof of his love for us. How deep-seated must be his astonishment because of his imprisonment! how dull he must pronounce us! It would not be strange if he were to come to the conclusion that he was not wise in going through so much for the benefit of a race so incapable of comprehending the truth. And if he should be tried, convicted, and hanged, we should go down the stream of history as the most ungrateful of all ungrateful peoples.

Seriously, is it not asking a little too much of the people of this country that they should believe that a man like Mr. Stephens accepted rebel office only that he might have the power to put an end to the rebellion? The very dignity of rebellion requires that we should be slow to believe that the rebel leaders were as contemptible as we know them to have been wicked. It is possible to feel respect for men who were rebels on principle, though their principle was bad; but how contemptible must be the men who rebelled only that they might be of service to the loyal portion of the country! Having been accustomed to look upon Mr. Stephens as one of the first men of the South, we are not prepared to see him assume the part of the rebellion's Jerry Sneak. He appears better as knave than as fool; and though no wise man would wish to be compelled to elect between the two characters, we know Mr. Stephens sufficiently well to be aware that he would not himself give the preference to folly's cap and bells over the knave's badge.

#### COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO THE MILITARY AND NAVAL SCHOOLS.

IN the summer of 1858, a party of teachers, delegates appointed by the National Association which had assembled in Washington to deliberate upon educational affairs, visited Mr. Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, and besought his influence in favor of establishing uniform test examinations for the admission of students to the Government Military and Naval Schools.

Mr. Thompson himself had graduated at West Point, but he had obtained admission to that school in a way very different from the one proposed. He declined favoring the project, and gave as a reason for so doing that many worthy persons never could have secured West Point privileges had such tests previously existed, and himself especially would have been for ever excluded. The reason was, in a certain sense, conclusive to the minds of the members of the delegation. This is the chief reason given by politicians who oppose the measure. They have another which bears more strongly on their own minds, but which it is not good for them to use openly.

The calamitous years just passed—perhaps, we are almost ready to say, blessed years, in that they have prepared the way for a peaceful future, consecrated to freedom—seem to have affected but little the progress of general education. And so far as our subject has been con-



cerned, the events of the war have added greatly to its importance, and tended to press it upon the attention of the public. It is needless to dwell upon the fact, widely appreciated, that educated officers of ability might have saved the country the loss of much treasure, and much sorrow and shame.

The existing prejudice against the national academies grows out of the relation in which they have been made to stand to the community at large. Practically, the people have gained but little more benefit from them than they might have gained from private institutions of a like character. Demagogues have used the privileges of these institutions for private ends, dispensing them as patronage to party favorites, and thus the public has been cut off from benefits originally designed to fall among influential and obscure, rich and poor citizens alike. It surely was not intended that Congressmen should appoint young men to the academies regardless of their acquirements and abilities. And yet this is done, and will continue to be done, until these nominations are virtually taken out of the hands of partisans. If candidates for admission had been subjected to thorough examinations, such men as Jacob Thompson would certainly never have entered; and it could not have been said, as it now can truthfully, that many who graduated, *and all who failed to graduate*, were totally unfit to be educated for the public service at the public expense.

The nominations for appointment to the academies are, in most cases, made regardless of any standard of merit. This procedure is a serious cause of complaint on the part of all who desire to be appointed but are unnoticed in the selection, and hence a feeling of dissatisfaction extends over the whole country. Frequently, the young men chosen are the unruly sons of wealthy and influential partisans, who expect West Point discipline to curb the follies of their offspring and bring them out with sound minds and respectable characters. Trained professors and thorough methods of instruction and discipline can accomplish wonders for weak minds and wayward dispositions, but even West Point is only so far successful as to impart to a majority of its students an air of culture. By this nothing derogatory to methods of instruction or professors is meant. Both our naval and military schools are probably equal in organization to any of the like character; but surely there is a weakness somewhere, when the Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy for 1864 feels justified in saying that, after one more year's instruction than is obtained in the "French Naval School, at Brest, the entrance examination there would exclude most of the graduates of our academy." The evil consists in the manner of selecting the human material to be wrought upon; and, unless a change is made in this particular, all the ability that can be gathered together, all the appliances the War Department can furnish, will not suffice to check the well founded and growing distrust which is fast seizing hold upon the public mind.

Of those sent to the academies, very few graduate, and not many who do graduate render their country such service as may be considered an adequate return, either in quality or quantity, for the cost of their education. There are hundreds of young men educated in private schools of the country at their own expense, where they have gone from motives of honorable ambition, being unable to gain admission to the Government schools for want of patronage to aid them—nay, there are many self-educated—who are better qualified than the majority of academy graduates to fill the best positions in the gift of the Government. Yet however well qualified one may be, he very naturally stands but little chance of obtaining certain positions against a West Pointer having no ability. The feeling of dissatisfaction which this breeds can only be removed by opening the doors of admission to the academies, through competitive examinations, to the whole country. When this is done, General Barnard may, with some degree of propriety, reply to applications for positions on the engineer corps, "that none but West Point graduates have been given such positions, and probably none others will ever receive them." By this time it ought to be known to the Government that many of its academy pupils are unfit to profit by the public money. The enormous cost of graduating one cannot be more than compensated by faithful service for twice as many years as it requires to complete the course. And yet how many render no service after graduating, how many are a burden upon the department to which

they are attached, and—worse than all—how many fail to graduate because of incompetence! \$15,000 is not too high an estimate for the cost of each graduate. This makes the annual expense per pupil nearly \$4,000. Were every one to graduate and enter the service, the Government would be no more than repaid for its money spent.

The crisis through which we have recently passed created demands for every man possessing a military education. The academies have furnished many valuable officers to the army and navy, but not nearly so many as might have been supplied to the country had all who entered them been intellectually qualified to improve the thorough and full course of training provided for them. The number that are stopped through incompetence before the completion of the course is every year very great. There is no reason why the Government should be at so great an expense for nothing. Doubtless it will be difficult for Congressmen to give up this little bit of patronage, but the sooner it is done the better, both for representatives and the country.

A step in the right direction has already been taken by several members of Congress. Mr. Sickles, of New York, selected his nominee to West Point from a class of candidates who were tested by examination. The successful one out of twenty competitors was a member of the New York Free Academy, in which his standing in scholarship was about the middle of his class. He graduated from West Point in 1863 at the head of his class. It is believed that Gen. Garfield, of Ohio, also selected by examination. Some few others, "with a conscientious sense of the responsibility resting upon them, have given their patronage to the result of general competition." This language is quoted from a speech by Senator Anthony, delivered May 18, 1864, in the Senate in the debate upon the bill making appropriation for the Military Academy, when he spoke upon the following amendment:

"And be it further enacted, That hereafter in all appointments of cadets to the Military Academy at West Point, the selections for such appointments in the several districts shall be made from the candidates according to their respective merits and qualifications, to be determined under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of War shall from time to time prescribe."

It is difficult to understand why this amendment did not pass. Certainly not for lack of cogent reasons in its favor. It was urged by a warm friend of the academy, who earnestly deprecated the popular prejudice, and vindicated his fidelity to the institution by allusions to its "scores of graduates, who rushed to the head of our new levies, organizing and leading them to glorious victory." He did not pretend to say that any course of military instruction could make a military genius, but he would not, therefore, discard military education.

"The academy has never had a fair chance; the country has not had a fair chance; the boys (of the country) have not had a fair chance. This is what I want them all to have. I desire that the academy shall begin, as it goes on, upon the competition principle." "Under the present system the academy wastes full half of its strength upon boys who never ought to be admitted, and whose natural incapacity prevents them profiting by the training they receive there. Under the system proposed, the academy would exert its influence upon thousands of the brightest and most aspiring boys all over the country, stimulating them to the pursuit of such studies and to the formation of such habits as, if they fail to carry them to West Point, will help to conduct them to usefulness and honor in whatever path of life they may choose."

The adoption of the plan would bring incalculable benefits to the country at large. Besides affording a means of thorough culture to the best working talent of the nation, and thereby placing at the service of the nation its best and noblest powers, it would, at the same time, stimulate the cause of general education. Schools and colleges, teachers and professors, would take great pride in fitting boys for the national academies. As the appliances and methods of instruction improved, the standards of excellence and the tests of admission would advance; and out of this progress there would grow throughout the land an enlivening and ennobling spirit of intellectual industry. It would open a practical route of communication between the common school and the state, and lead to a more systematic and pointed inculcation of the principles of government and the elements of patriotism as a part of public education.

A British Commission, in a report on the French system of military education, says that "admission to the military schools of France

can only be gained through a public competitive examination . . . . . A powerful influence has thus been exercised upon the character of education in France."

The Royal Military Academy of Great Britain was formerly filled by patronage, but is now thrown open to general competition. "The results," as stated in debate in Parliament, are "that sons of merchants, attorneys, clergymen, mechanics, and noblemen were among the successful competitors."

Says Mr. Edward Chadwick, in a report before the National Social Science Association at Cambridge in 1862:

"During the five years of the open-competition principle there has not been one dismissed for incapacity. Moreover, the general standard of capacity has advanced. Another result, the opposite to that which was confidently predicted by the opponents to the principle, has been that the average physical power or bodily strength, instead of being diminished, is advanced beyond the average of its predecessors. . . . A stimulus of the most healthy and powerful kind, worth more than millions of pecuniary endowment, has been given to all the great schools of the country, including the universities of England, Scotland, and Ireland."

Austria, Prussia, and Italy have adopted the competitive plan for admission to their military establishments. In Austria staff officers are chosen upon this principle.

In conclusion, let us say that this matter is approved by the professors in both the Military and Naval Academies; that it has been strongly urged by Boards of Visitors in 1863, 1864, and 1865; that it is cordially approved by the Secretary of War; and that, finally, and not least in importance, it is called for by the public. The argument against it drawn from the fact that West Point, under the present régime, has produced men like Grant and Sherman, is one of those old stock arguments by which nearly every abuse has been or might be defended. Wellington received little or no school education. Soult and Ney rose from the ranks. Cromwell never saw a regiment till he was in middle life. Garibaldi had probably never opened a book on military science when he defended Rome. But would it do to infer from these cases that a regular professional training is of no use to a soldier?

### A SONG OF A SLATER.

UPON the church roof perched so high,  
The white clouds are my company;  
Far down below their shadows fly  
Across the flowing grain;  
And through the belfry, in and out,  
A cheery wind is making rout;  
It blows the pigeons all about,  
And flutters them again.

Down there, beyond the plum-tree row,  
There is a garden-wall I know,  
Where vines with purple grapes aglow  
Encase a garden door.  
See, from that nook of leafy shade  
Into the sunlight slips a maid;  
I hold my breath, as half afraid  
Of seeing her no more.

But on she glides, her sunny head  
Now gleams above a flower bed;  
Now, veiled in dappled dimness shed  
Through lacing branches, glows;  
Now at the porch, she will not stay!  
One moment turns her face this way,  
One moment brightens all the day,  
Then into darkness goes.

And there beyond, my own home lies;  
My little brothers' voices rise  
Among the trees; and mother's eyes  
I know are turned this way:  
A hundred happy homes lie round,  
And in them all my friends are found;  
What more is in this garden ground  
I have no heart to say.

## Correspondence.

### THE SUFFRAGE AND THE CONSTITUTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

"I hope . . . that a [State] constitution containing or permitting a difference of civil or political rights founded on difference of color or race, will be rejected. I am perfectly aware that the constitution of the State may be changed at any time. This difficulty is not, so far I can see, to be overcome."—T. P. (Cambridge), in Boston *Daily Advertiser*, June 1, 1865.

"I conclude, therefore, on this subject of negro voting, that in all States which can claim their full rights under the Constitution, it is a question for the State; and that in revolted States it is a question of policy and military government, to be decided by the national authorities, until the State is fully restored unto its former condition."—SENATOR SHERMAN, *ibid.*, June 17, 1865.

It is obvious from the above extracts, especially in connection with the residue of the articles from which they were taken, that these two distinguished juriconsults fully agree in three important points of constitutional law, particularly interesting at the present moment: 1st, That wisdom and policy, as well as justice, require that no citizen shall be denied the elective franchise on account of color or race. 2d, That the rebel States may now be held, under military law or otherwise, till they adopt constitutions founded on that principle. 3d, That when they or any other people are actually admitted to full State rights, the regulation of the matter belongs, by the Constitution of the United States, to the States themselves.

The first two propositions, it is to be hoped, would now receive the approbation of all loyal men. These distinguished writers, however, do not state the ground on which they agree that the rebel States may be rightfully coerced in this respect. They both appear to recognize the fact that the people of the rebel States have, by their rebellion, destroyed their own State governments, and renounced all their other political rights as component parts of the nation under the Constitution of the United States; and, among the rest, the right or power of resuscitating themselves, in any form as civil States within the Union, without the assent and assistance of the general Government. For holding them in this position, one of them seems to rely on the military power, under which the other also says "they certainly can be held." The military power may undoubtedly prevent their assembling in convention, or forming and adopting a constitution of any sort. The civil power also might do the same by rendering illegal all acts tending to such a result. But if, notwithstanding measures of either sort, a constitution should be actually adopted and presented to Congress, its acceptance by Congress would cure all preliminary irregularities, and the State would be restored to the Union, as a new State so accepted would be admitted, with full State rights. It is this ultimate power of acceptance or rejection that is specially invoked. If the Government have expressly or impliedly authorized or invited a people to form a State constitution preparatory to admission to the Union, or if a people have done the same, unauthorized and uninvited, Congress, having the power, may reject it arbitrarily and wrongfully, as they may abuse any other power, against reason and without right.

But this is not the power to which they would appeal. They refer to a lawful power, judiciously exercised, for adequate reasons and justifiable cause. What is that cause? Undoubtedly such a cause might exist in the irregular and unauthorized manner in which the instrument had been formed and presented, independent of any radical objections, in principle, to the instrument itself. But this would not necessarily cover the case. They consider the "permitting a difference of civil or political rights founded on a difference of color or race" an adequate objection to its acceptance. Undoubtedly it is. But on what ground? The Constitution requires many duties of the States as political bodies, many of their governments, and of the different departments and officers of their government as such, as well as the republican character of the governments themselves. The constitution of a "State in this Union" must provide the means for the performance of all these duties, or it cannot be held to be such as the United States Constitution requires for a State. It must have the officers, the departments of the government, and the corporation of whom those duties are required, or it cannot perform the duties of a "State in this Union," or be admitted or retained as such. A State constitution deficient in any one of these particulars ought to, of course, and must be rejected.

But what part of the Constitution is inconsistent with the discrimination of color in the distribution of political rights? All natural rights may be enjoyed by every man, because all moral duties may be performed by all moral beings. But all political duties cannot, and, of

course, political rights may be limited accordingly. The elective franchise, for instance, is a part of the national sovereignty, and the public safety requires that it should be lodged where it will be most likely to be used for the public good rather than for the public detriment. This cannot be done by a particular examination and judgment in regard to every individual, but must of necessity be done by general rules, which exclude some who might safely and advantageously be included, and include others who as manifestly ought to be excluded. Among minors, male and female, and among adult females, who, for general reasons, are universally excluded in all governments, there are many much better qualified for the exercise of the elective franchise than many male adults who are allowed the right. If you draw the line anywhere else as on the difference of color, you encounter the same difficulty, and perhaps others. But what clause or what principle of the Constitution is violated by making color, any more than age or sex, the line of discrimination? They are all natural distinctions, and no individual energy can obliterate or avoid them. Artificial distinctions are different. The barriers created by defect of education, property, profession, or calling of any sort, may be leaped and overcome. But the natural distinctions cannot. Two of them are permanent and unalterable; the other only temporary—though made by nature, it must in due course cease by nature. The others cease not at all. Now, the right to the elective franchise is a no more perfect right than any other political right. The right to elect and to be elected stand on the same ground, and may be regulated, conferred, or withheld by similar authority and for similar reasons.

This brings us to the question where this authority is deposited, under our system, so far as respects the elective franchise, and how and for what reasons it should be exercised. This question is answered by our authors in the third proposition above stated, that the authority belongs to the individual States, and of course may be exercised when, how, and for what reason they please, so far as respects any right of interference by the United States. If this is so, they may regulate it by constitution or by law as they please, and the same revoke, repeal, alter, amend, or abolish, and regulate anew the next day, as they please. This these gentlemen are understood to hold; not in general terms merely, but in direct reference to this particular subject. If a rebel State should make a constitution to-day denying the right of any limitation of the suffrage on account of color or race, and should thereupon be re-admitted to full State rights under the constitution, they may to-morrow, if they please, make another limiting it exclusively on color or race, and there is no remedy. It follows, of course, that they may not only exclude the black race, but any other race; and limit the right to any one race, or family, or even individual, if they please. It is perfectly obvious that on this theory of States rights, the duty of the United States to guarantee to each State a republican government cannot be fulfilled. It is also obvious that the first two propositions above stated become entirely worthless. The answer to the questions, whether the elective franchise ought to be limited on color; and whether the rebel States may be held out of the Union, or where they have placed themselves, until they present a constitution negating such limitation, is not worth the ink with which it may be written. We deny the whole doctrine, *totis viribus*.

The question is, Does the regulation, to wit, the limitation or extension, of the right of suffrage among the citizens belong exclusively to the individual States, by the Constitution of the United States? In the first place, the Constitution confers no rights or powers on the States or their governments, by *direct grant*, in relation to suffrage or anything else. This was discovered by the Virginia Legislature as long ago as February, 1820. In their elaborate resolutions of that date, on the Missouri restrictions, they assert emphatically, and truly, that no "rights are conferred by the Federal Constitution on the State governments." It confers none by *implication*, except those necessarily involved in the performance of the duties it enjoins on them and their officers. Any exclusive power over the elective franchise is not among these. It confers no power on the States or their governments by *reservation* even, except a part of those "not delegated to the United States." But it restricts them by numerous express and implied prohibitions. Besides all this, they are further indefinitely restrained by the supremacy of all laws made or enacted under the authority of the Constitution. When all these are duly considered in detail, as well those in *posse* as those in *case*, it will be easy to comprehend the mass of power belonging exclusively to the States. But the Constitution recognizes the existence of the States as bodies politic, and component parts of the nation, but not as independent nations, and guarantees them republican governments, suited to their subordinate position in the Union. This places them on the ground of individuals, in some respects, as lawful agents—governmental agents, within the limits of paramount law. Our fathers had been educated to this. Their Colonial govern-

ments, though parts of the empire, were still governments, bodies politic, local corporations, authorized to make laws, ordinances, etc., but always "so as such laws, ordinances, and constitutions, so made, be not contrary and repugnant unto . . . the laws of this our realm of England." So our present local governments are controlled by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The prohibitions, whether express or implied, are peremptory, and cannot be passed. But the most extensive and important restrictions, as well on States as individuals, arise from the absolute supremacy of the laws of the United States.

Those have been heretofore very sparingly applied, for two reasons: 1st. When the present government was instituted for the nation, it found the existing government of the United States disorganized and deranged, and all its concerns in dilapidation, while the local governments were organized and in full operation; so that the general and external interests of the country required all, and more than all, their attention, and the internal and local interests of the people demanded little or none at their hands; 2d. It was the policy of the slaveholders, who controlled the administration of the Government then and ever afterwards, till by rebellion they shook it off entirely, to keep it as far as possible from any influence over their domestic institutions and interests, which they could easier manage to their own satisfaction through their own local governments. But their bad management of those institutions and interests has proved so disastrous to themselves and so expensive of the blood and treasure of the nation, that it may be hoped that the general Government will not feel warranted, in future, to neglect or withdraw themselves from the regulation of any interest which concerns the safety, welfare, or liberty of the people. When the general Government shall actually undertake and enter upon the full performance of the duty for which it was created by "the people of the United States," viz., "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty" to all the people, the local governments will find the subjects of their exclusive jurisdiction very much curtailed, though their usefulness may be very much increased. Duties neglected, overlooked, or deferred by the general Government have been assumed by the States, because corporations, like individuals, may do, according to law, whatever infringes no law or is prohibited by no law; and this is the principal source of all local legislation. In regard to this particular subject of the right of suffrage, Congress has never taken the first step towards defining or limiting it; and if the State legislatures had not, the whole subject might have remained unregulated to this day.

The only clauses of the Constitution having direct reference to the subject are the 2d and 4th sections of the first article, and the guarantee clause already alluded to. The first is in these words: "The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature." This settles two points only—that other qualifications than mere citizenship, being of "the people," membership of the nation, may be required; and that electors of representatives to Congress must have all the qualifications of electors of State representatives. Two other points germane to the subject it leaves both unsettled and untouched, to wit: by whom those qualifications shall be fixed, and whether any and what additional qualifications may be required for electors of members of Congress. That those last points are not concluded by the clause, as it stands, is evident from the fact that it would have been perfectly consistent with all it contains if it had continued—"these qualifications, and any others that may be thought suitable, may be prescribed by Congress." Such an addition would contradict nothing standing before it, but would have been entirely compatible with it, and, although it is not actually embodied in this clause, it may, without the least inconsistency, be found in or result from provisions in subsequent parts of the Constitution. No grant of an independent or exclusive power over the subject is here made to the State governments. The language imports no such thing; and even if it was susceptible of any such construction, its utter incompatibility with other provisions would prove such construction erroneous.\*

The first part of the 4th section is in these words: "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof." If the section ended here, and this was the only clause in the Constitution relating to the suf-

\* This clause, as originally reported by the "Committee of Detail" in the first draft of the Constitution, was in these words: "The qualifications of electors shall be the same, from time to time, as those of the electors, in the several States, of the most numerous branch of their own legislatures." In the course of the discussion of the clause, Mr. Gouverneur Morris said: "Another objection against the clause, as it stands, is, that it makes the qualifications of the National Legislature depend on the will of the States, which is thought not proper." The "Committee of Revision" reported the clause in the form in which it now stands. It is a significant fact, in reference to the precise effect of this change of phraseology, that the revised draft was made by Mr. Morris himself.—See *Madison Papers in loco*.



frage, there can be no doubt but it would give the entire subject to the States. The time, place, and manner of an election, in default of any other provisions, would include every circumstance in regard to it necessary for carrying it into complete execution and giving it its perfect effect. There are, among others, the subject on which the suffrage is to be taken, the mass of people from whom the voters are to be selected, the principle of the selection governing the number and qualifications of electors, their previous registration, the frequency of elections, the permanence and functions of the elected, the check-list and mode of voting by ballot or *cave voce*, the sorting, counting, declaring, recording, and returning the result, the appointment of the officers and their authority under whose supervision all this is to be done, together with the means of punishing frauds and securing the purity of the election; all these items are included in the manner of an election, and if not specially provided for elsewhere in the Constitution, necessarily fall under this general provision. Two of them are otherwise regulated. The subjects to be acted on are fixed. The body of people from whom the electors are to be taken is fixed. But we have seen that neither the principle of selection nor the number or proportion of those to be selected is fixed by the 2d section, nor is the power of fixing them there assigned to either government. This, then, with all other items of "time, place, and manner," whether mentioned above or not, fall directly within the purview of this 4th section.

And if the section had ended as above, it would have been seen clearly, and nobody would have disputed, that the whole power over them was expressly assigned to the State governments. But the 4th section does not end there. It proceeds as follows: "But the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations," etc. They may *alter* them if not made right, or they may *make* them *ab initio* if not made at all by the State legislatures. This places the whole subject in the hands of Congress for their ultimate control, in the same broad and express form as it does primarily in the hands of the State legislatures. This was done, as stated by the authors of the "Federalist," on the avowed principle "that every government ought to contain in itself the means of its own preservation." If the construction of the 2d section should be that the qualifications of electors of State and United States representatives should be the *same*, then the 4th section, by giving the last expressly to Congress in the last resort, necessarily gives both. This is probably the true meaning. If the construction of the 2d section should be different, and require only that electors of representatives to Congress should have *all* the qualifications of electors of State representatives, without restriction as to others, then the provisions of the 4th section would not *directly* apply to the regulation of the qualifications of electors of State representatives. But as Congress has expressly the power, in the last resort, to regulate *all* the qualifications of electors of members of Congress, and as no power is given to the State legislatures in reference to electors of State representatives, it would follow that such regulation as Congress should make in regard to their own case would control also the State electors. And in that case, other provisions of the Constitution would come strongly in aid of the power thus given to Congress over the whole subject. The next section gives to each House the right to "judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members." This is in the nature of a judicial rather than a legislative power. Each House may not make laws prescribing the times, places, and manner of elections, returns, qualifications, etc., but they may "judge" of their conformity to law, in particular cases as they arise; and experience has shown that they may sometimes, for party purposes or otherwise, judge contrary to law.

In addition to this, and more directly applicable to the duty of the general Government to regulate the elective franchise, in respect to the number and qualifications of the electors to State offices, is the clause of guarantee, art. 4, § 4: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." Every independent political community must select its own depositories of its sovereignty. It is as much impossible for every member of a nation to be a voter as it is for him to be the king. The nation has the same right to say the whole sovereignty shall be deposited with one man, and who that man shall be, as it has to say it shall be deposited with a few or many, and who the few or many shall be. The right to do either arises from absolute necessity, and involves the principle of election. An election may be made by general laws, or by an examination and judgment on every man's claim. In a monarchy or oligarchy it is usually made by general rules adopted beforehand. In a republic it is physically impossible it should be made otherwise. These rules should not only recognize the nature and objects of the *trust*, in relation to the general welfare, but should also be just in respect to individuals, founded on the equal rights of man as recognized in the principles of our Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. A man justly

conscious of his own superior qualifications to be President of the United States, has just the same right to be President that a female or minor thus qualified has to be an elector. They both depend upon an election in the form and under the rules of law. The present question is, Who, under our Constitution, shall prescribe the law by which the voter, a holder of a part or the whole of the sovereignty, shall be elected or designated? And it is perfectly obvious that whoever does this, in reference to an individual State, decides whether that State shall be a republic, an oligarchy, or a monarchy. As the Constitution expressly imposes this duty on the general Government, it necessarily includes the other also. By making the general Government responsible for the republicanism of every State, it confers all the power necessary for that purpose. It confers on the States no power inconsistent with this; and the people of the States cannot do so, because they have already disposed of the power by giving it to the United States. The argument lies in a nut-shell. If the Government decline or disclaim the right of control over the elective franchise in the States, they abdicate and repudiate their constitutional duty to fulfil the guarantee by putting it beyond their power to perform it. The elementary writers on the science of government represent the disposition and regulation of that portion of sovereignty exercised by the suffrage as the principal ingredient in constituting a republic—absolutely essential to be provided for in the fundamental law. By whom, and on what subjects, it may be used in a republic, are as necessary to be prescribed and known as it is in a monarchy to designate who is the prince. The same doctrine is held by distinguished American statesmen. It enters into the very nature of republicanism, its essential elements, its component characteristics. There may be others, to be sure, but this is one, indispensably necessary to the identity of the compound idea: any one of which being wanting destroys the republicanism of the government. What these are beyond the suffrage it is not now necessary to enquire. But whatever they are, they must all be found in the constitution, the fundamental law of a State, or it is not a republican government within the national guaranty. The Government, which is responsible for the fulfilment of that guaranty, must decide what those essential component ingredients are, and either prescribe them beforehand that they may be complied with in the first instance, point them out afterwards that they may be supplied in the revisions, or repeal and nullify, by general law, whatever is incompatible with them, otherwise the guaranty may remain a dead letter. *This responsible power is in Congress*, because they have all the legislative power of the Government, and because also they have all the special power of admitting States. They must of necessity decide what constitutes a republican government, accept no constitution that does not, and disfranchise any State that destroys such a government when formed, or they do not fulfil the constitutional guaranty. The same right of control over the elective franchise in the States is deducible from the general powers of the Government as contained in the introductory or enacting clause of the Constitution, and as afterwards abridged and epitomized in the beginning of the 8th section, in distributing to Congress that portion of those powers which devolves upon them. But this article is already too much extended to admit of the development of that part of the subject in this place.

T. F.

#### THE PROGRESS OF EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.

[WE have the grateful privilege of laying before our readers a letter from a veteran philanthropist—perhaps, if we except Lord Brougham, the earliest living advocate of emancipation. Monsieur Tourgueneff belongs by birth to the Russian nobility. He participated in the closing campaigns of the final coalition against Napoleon I., and afterwards held a high office in the state department of his native country, and was the intimate and respected adviser of Alexander I. When that well-meaning but feeble-willed monarch died in 1825, there was an *émeute* in favor of a constitutional government which was promptly and bloodily suppressed by Nicholas. M. Tourgueneff, who was at that time abroad for his health, was most unjustly implicated in this attempt, and capitally condemned. From that time till 1857, as he states below, he lived an exile, for some time in England, but chiefly in France, his real cause of offence being not his political views which were indeed liberal, but his conspicuous zeal in behalf of his unfortunate countrymen who languished in serfdom. In 1847 he published a work entitled "Russia and the Russians," in three volumes, in which he both gave a sketch of his own life and efforts in behalf of emancipation, and discussed at length the plan which, in his mature judgment, would be most successful for that desirable end. He there expressed his conviction that the deliverer of the serfs could be no other than the autocrat himself, and events have approved his sagacity. A few weeks ago we wrote to congratulate him on the accomplishment of his heart's desire, and to express the

hope that he might favor THE NATION, and through it the people of the United States, with his observations of the workings of emancipation in Russia. The following is his response. It is doubly valuable from its direct and indirect bearing upon the two great questions that concern the freedmen of America—land and suffrage.—ED. NATION.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

You are quite right when you mention the immense satisfaction I felt in seeing, by the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, the wishes of my whole life fulfilled. After thirty-three years of absence it was given to me to see my native land again. It was in 1857, the memorable moment when the Emperor Alexander first raised the question of emancipation, and declared it was time for it to be accomplished. As might have been expected, the idea of emancipation met with great opposition from different sides. Yet, I must say, the opposition was directed not so much against the personal emancipation of the serfs as against the appropriation to them, when liberated, of the land they held. The proprietors, assembled in different committees which were established all over the empire to discuss the matter, ended even by giving up their right of possession in the person of the serf, and, mentioning only their right to the land occupied by the peasants, claimed pecuniary indemnities if that land were delivered to them. The honorable gentlemen whom the Emperor entrusted with this important task, forming a committee *ad hoc*, declared from the first as a principle that the emancipated peasants must have land, about in the same quantity as they had hitherto occupied, on condition of a pecuniary indemnity to be paid to the proprietors. That principle prevailed, thanks to the Emperor's firmness.

During the discussion of that question in Russia, I published several writings on the matter.\* My chief purpose and warmest desire being to secure to the peasants as soon as possible their personal freedom and complete liberty of labor, I proposed a method of emancipation claiming the entire property of their homes—that is to say, cottages and orchards, and a small quantity of arable land, and that without the slightest indemnity from them to their masters, which was to be left to Government. A sum of about two hundred millions of dollars, according to my calculation, would have been sufficient for it.

Meanwhile, I inherited a small landed property,† inhabited by about four hundred persons of both sexes. I hastened to Russia, and put in practice my method. I abandoned one-third of the land, including their houses, to the peasants, and let them the two remaining thirds for a certain sum of money. In my agreement with them it was settled that, if the emancipation which the Government was preparing (1859) turned out more advantageous to them, they were to accept it in preference to mine. It is needless to add, that when the official emancipation was proclaimed, the peasants and myself found it more advantageous, and adopted it. If I were to compare the two methods, I should say that mine tended chiefly to the liberty of the peasants' person and labor, and that of the Government to give them a quantity of land sufficient for their subsistence. The great inconvenience of this last method is, that it obliges the peasants to pay a heavy rent to redeem their land, and that during forty-nine years! Nevertheless, their passion to possess land is so strong that they cheerfully submit to such hard conditions. The redeeming rent (*rente de rachat*) must be paid by the peasants either in money, according to an estimation fixed by law, or by work done for the proprietor, *i. e.*, by *corvées*. This last mode of payment, sanctioned by law only for a short period, disappears more and more every day, so that the majority of the peasants even now do not work for the proprietors, but pay their rent in money. I can say more: about two millions of peasants are now entirely liberated with regard to the proprietors, thanks to an immediate payment of the redeeming rent. In such cases their annual rent (*redemption*) is capitalized, and the Government gives the proprietor an obligation for the amount of the capital, which bears five per cent. interest, and will be redeemed in the course of forty-nine years by annual drawings (*tirages*). The peasants then pay their redeeming rent to Government, and thus become free and independent proprietors. Since some time both peasants and proprietors seem to find this proceeding the most profitable, and agreements of this kind become more and more frequent every day.

I can hardly say how happy I was when I saw, last year, for the first time, my dear, beloved, and deeply respected Russian peasants free at last and proprietors of the land they had till then cultivated as serfs! What a

change! The same creatures, serfs yesterday, are now men, conscious of their human dignity: their aspect, their language, are those of free men. In the meanwhile, in getting rid of their serfdom, they have preserved their usual good sense, wisdom, and *bonhomie*: no impertinence, no arrogance whatever, can be detected in them; they are full of self-respect, yet polite. I saw them discussing with the authorities some business of theirs: they maintained their new rights, and, when wrong, never hesitated to acknowledge it. You may have seen in my book,\* sir, that I always had a high opinion of the Russian peasants' moral qualities. Well, all I saw last year was beyond my expectation!

Your reformers can tell you that, in loving dearly the slaves, one can hardly help feeling a very different sentiment towards their owners. To be fair, I must say that I am perfectly reconciled with the Russian proprietors. Although many of them were not delighted with emancipation, now it is accomplished there is no vestige of animosity between the two classes, nobles and peasants: a happy reconciliation has taken place. It is true in this again example came from the peasants; the great merit of the nobles is in having at last acknowledged their moral worth.

You will excuse me, sir, if I go on praising the Russian peasants; but quite lately their behavior, in circumstances very important for themselves and the country in general, was so striking and noble that it deserves the attention of every serious and benevolent man. The facts are these. You perhaps have read in the newspapers that the Russian Government issued a law on the municipal organization of the country. It is founded upon just and wise principles; it is very like what was formerly tried in France by the celebrated Turgot, or what exists now in Belgium, and is by far more liberal than the present French municipal system.

Every district and every *chef-lieu* has every year an assembly of deputies who name a permanent committee for three years. This committee is charged with the municipal administration, under the control of the assembly. Every one is called by law to the election of deputies. Well, it happened in many places that the peasants were the more numerous and could, therefore, dispose of all the places in the administrative committee. They were so informed. "No," was their answer; "we want one or two members of the committee taken from amongst ourselves: they will watch over our interests. As for defending them, as for *action*, the nobles we name will do it better than we, for they are more learned than we are." In one of the assemblies the nobles, moved by the tact and moderation of the peasants, insisted, and almost forced a peasant to become president of the administrative committee of the district. When the salary of the members of the committee had to be decided, the peasants generally considered it too high for them, and, letting the nobles and the merchants have it, got it diminished by one-half for themselves. We must not forget that the men who behave in this way towards their former lords and masters were serfs yesterday, and that they are for the first time called to discuss not only their own affairs—which they were used to, thanks to the ancient organization of the Russian commune—but the general affairs of a whole district also. Do not think, however, that their modesty reaches total abnegation. In one district the nobles, full of the prejudices which are now so absurd, showed some displeasure in finding themselves side by side with peasants, acting the same part as they, voting with them, and so on. There the peasants knew how to maintain their rights and independence, and voted for men of their own class.

All the district assemblies, after having voted the formation of the administrative committee, name the deputies for the larger assembly in the chief town in the province, which, of its turn, chooses among its own members the members for the provincial administrative committee. The central committee seems to interest the peasants less than those of the districts, and this too is owing to their modesty and moderation. In the course of time they will learn that they, as well as the nobles, can play a part in the general committees.

Another field is offered by the new law to the activity of the peasants in the local or municipal tribunals. The law unites several rural communes in one canton (*volost*). Each canton, each commune, chooses an *ancient*, assisted by a *conseil*. In every canton is a tribunal to judge the peasants' affairs. Ancients and judges are elected by peasants; noblemen are not submitted to these tribunals, but it has happened that some of them preferred having their difficulties with peasants settled by municipal judges rather than by the usual tribunals. This jurisdiction, established merely for peasants, has great importance, owing chiefly to the privilege of deciding

\* "L'organisation des biens des Apanages, en vue de l'émancipation des paysans seigneuriaux." [Aug., 1857.] "Résumé des dispositions basées sur le rescrit impérial du 20 novembre, 1857." [Mar., 1858.] "Pora! (Il est temps!)" [Oct., 1857—July, 1858.] "La question de l'émancipation et la question de l'administration des paysans." [Oct., 1858.] "Un dernier mot sur l'émancipation des serfs en Russie." [1860.] Besides numerous articles.—ED. NATION.

† The commune of Starodoub.—ED. NATION.

\* "The class of Russian serfs has always been, above and before all, the object of my affections—affections the more lively as I have never seen any one render these men the justice which is their due. . . . Yes, I love these good Russian serfs, and, even to the sacred heard which still distinguishes them, everything in them is for me an object of respect." [La Russie et les Russes, 1847.]—ED. NATION.



not only according to general law but also according to local customs. Opportunities have not been wanting for the good sense of the peasants to show itself in these municipal tribunals and councils, and the success of the institution is clear to every one.

After expatiating at such length on the Russian emancipation, allow me, sir, to say a few words about another emancipation also accomplished by the Russian Government. I am the more desirous because it seems to be little known in Europe and to be appreciated in a very insufficient and erroneous manner. I mean the emancipation in the Kingdom of Poland. The Polish peasants in the grand duchy of Warsaw were, it is true, proclaimed personally free by a decree of Napoleon I., and the introduction of the French *code civil*; but, in fact, they remained in the same condition as before, on account of the law which united in the hands of the proprietor the judicial and executive power, with the right of corporal punishment. The peasants were always unhappy in Poland: the Polish aristocracy, whom history adorns with such brilliant qualities, could never be praised for the Christian virtue of brotherly love, if they ever considered the peasants as brethren. Their indifference for the fate of the peasants contributed most to the decline and fall of that unfortunate nation. A paper published in the "Quarterly Review" (April, 1863) exposes the state of Poland in that respect in a very striking manner. I have explained with some detail the emancipation of the Polish peasants in a paper, written in Russian, which I intend publishing. The third and last chapter speaks of the Kingdom of Poland, and is translated in French. That translation, as yet unprinted, I can send you if you like, and you may put it to whatever purpose you choose.

I have felt, as you may well imagine, the most sincere interest in all that has been going on in America during these latter years. I lamented, from the depths of my soul, the death of your President, who, by the strength of his honesty, the firmness of his noble mind, placed his name in history next to the greatest man of modern times, your immortal Washington! I lamented his death the more because his latest speeches and manifestations made us hope that the glorious triumph of the North Americans would put an end to all the evils suffered by every one in your country. The promoters of the criminal and immoral insurrection have undoubtedly deserved the highest punishment, but they have undergone it already, they suffer it still. In fact, what punishment can be more cruel than to witness the whole world applauding the triumph of the North, the triumph of right and liberty, and the total ruin of the cause those miserable men have been fighting for? Compared with such a failure, all ordinary punishment seems a trifle, a deliverance, rather.

As to the negroes, who must just now particularly preoccupy those who have spent their lives in defending the unhappy creatures, I see with intense pleasure that many distinguished men in America are trying to secure for them the right of suffrage. As I write, I have on my table the *Anti-Slavery Standard* of July 1, and I find there in Gov. Holden's discourse the following words: "No people has ever yet bounded at once into the full enjoyment of the right of self-government." It seems to me that the poor negroes, in receiving the right of suffrage, would not, by that alone, enjoy at once self-government; and I think that, putting aside both right and expediency, the general welfare requires the removal (as far as it is possible) of all the barriers that unfortunately exist between the two races. If you deprive the blacks of the right of suffrage, you continue to keep them aside, separated from the community, and, in spite of personal liberty, they will always be considered by the whites and by themselves as pariahs; and that feeling has certainly its inconveniences—even its dangers. One must not chaffer with man for the rights of man. The rights that law, in whatever country, gives men must be the same for every one. The words of the Hon. Governor find, in my opinion, a striking refutation in what took place and is still taking place in Russia and Poland. The peasants there did not "bound at once" from the state of serfs to that of freemen, but enjoy, nevertheless, as real a self-government as the political state of the countries allows. Evidently our peasants were in a condition far superior to that of the negroes, but it is just on account of their inferiority that the most efficacious means must be employed to change their state, and nothing can be better than the right of suffrage, elevating them at once to the same level with the whites. Prejudices alone would then remain to be deplored and fought against; the law would be free from all reproach, the legislator would have done all he could possibly do.

Under the impression of what is going on in my own country, I cannot help wishing that the Americans would give the freedmen some land, not, of course, in sending them to settle far away as colons, but in allowing them to settle wherever they can have some land of their own. Then only will they feel and appreciate the advantages of a free and independent life. Then only will they try to increase their welfare, and that would certainly give hands to the great proprietors for cultivating their cotton. The freedman,

once he has understood the advantages of working on his small bit of land, will not be satisfied with it alone: he will go and look for other work, in order to make his life more and more easy and happy.

Accept, sir, my best compliments and kind regard.

N. TOURGUENEFF.

VERT-BOIS, July 14, 1865.

## FEELING OF THE SOUTH CAROLINIANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Having recently returned from South Carolina, it occurs to me to give you an outline of a conversation that I held with a gentleman to whom I was introduced one day. I do not feel at liberty to mention his name, but will say that he is a person of great wealth and high position, one of the best specimens of the South Carolina aristocracy, and that he is universally esteemed by whites and blacks. I will call him Mr. O.

We were led to the subject of reconstruction by my remarking upon the wonderful quickness with which the State had returned to tranquillity, as illustrated by my quiet and safe journey into the interior of the State. He answered in general terms that, as I said in a former letter, the people of the State were fully convinced of the failure of the rebellion, and desired in good faith to return under the Government of the Union; and that they were also convinced that slavery was at an end, and were ready to do whatever was necessary to try the experiment of free labor in good faith. He had conversed with gentlemen of influence from all parts of the South, and this was the unanimous sentiment. For himself, he would go further, as he supposed, than most, and say that not only did he admit that slavery was dead, but he should be very strongly opposed to any attempt to revive it, or even to prolong it for a day; that it was better for the South to have it perish at once than to have any intermediate or gradual stage. He was not sure, he repeated, that he went further than others in this. I think, however, from all I could learn, that he was right, and that the majority of the planters strongly desire—although only a very few of them really expect—that Congress shall interfere to make emancipation gradual. A planter from Anderson District, sitting near us, assented to Mr. O.'s testimony as to the opinion of the community, and the same statement was afterwards emphatically confirmed by a wealthy and influential gentleman from Sumter, and, indeed, by everybody whom I met.

Mr. O. told me that as soon as possible after our occupation he called his house-slaves together, and told them they were free now to get work where they could, and he was free to hire whom he liked; that it was probable it would be better for both parties to make a change, as there would be some embarrassment in keeping together under their new relation; however, that was for them to decide, and they need be in no haste about the decision, as they could stay with him until they had made up their minds. So far, they had all staid. Indeed, it is my opinion that house-servants, as a rule, can do better for the present by staying with their masters without wages than by changing. Almost all of them have children, and if they can get themselves and children boarded and clothed, it is all they can expect for some time to come. In Charleston, I saw a family that had left their master because he would give no wages. They could get no employment, and were simply living on their friends. People must examine into circumstances before they advise those who are situated in this way to demand wages. For field-hands I think there will be a great demand; but house-servants have always been in excess. They have grown up gradually with a family, and now that the Southerners are adopting free labor, the first thing that strikes them is the enormous cost of their establishments—with white domestics they could be served much better at much less expense. I think that almost always they prefer (although this is really against their interests) to make no change, but continue to live as they are accustomed. But if the servants insist upon wages, we can hardly blame them, in their present reduced circumstances, if they conclude that they can do better by hiring some one who is not encumbered with children. Many house-servants, I have no doubt, must go to the fields before long. Few families will put up, in hired servants, with the slovenly and inefficient habits of those who have been slaves.

Mr. O. looked upon the prospect of free labor more hopefully than most Southerners. He considered it still an experiment, in which large numbers of the negroes would perish, but which would eventually succeed. He analyzed the faults of the negro character very skillfully, exaggerating them somewhat, as I thought, and, as was natural, attributing them rather to the race than to the circumstances they have had about them. He did not, however, seem at all disposed to overlook their good traits, and when a bystander spoke of the insolence of the freedmen, he answered, "I think they have behaved extraordinarily well under the circumstances—bet



ter, I fear, than the same number of white men would have done in their place."

When I expressed my surprise and gratification at the marks I found of returning loyalty, he protested somewhat warmly against the intolerance of the people of the North in refusing to believe them when they said they submitted in good faith—our newspapers and preachers seemed determined to keep up the spirit of hostility against them. One of our officers had told him that if he should print in the North under his own signature a statement of what he had himself seen and heard, it would receive absolutely no credence beyond the immediate circle of his friends. This he thought was discreditable to our intelligence and fairness. I might have answered that we had been told so often and so emphatically of the undying resolve of the South to resist for ever, that it was hard to believe that in so short a space of time such a change of sentiment could have taken place. My own belief is, that as the people of South Carolina went into this rebellion more earnestly and honestly than those of any other State, so now that they are convinced of their failure they adapt themselves to their new circumstances more honestly and promptly than any others. It is not fair to call them secessionists now, for they have frankly given up secession. They certainly are not loyal, in our sense. I think they have passed through the stage of *submission*, and their present temper may be called *acquiescence*, not yet *satisfaction*—unless, indeed, as there are some indications, a reaction has taken place since I left, caused by the premature establishment of civil government, unsettling their minds, and interrupting a healthy progress of opinion.

I was much interested in the view which Mr. O. gave me of the *democratic* revolution worked by the war in the industry of the State. The cotton crop, he said—and this was the concurrent testimony, he assured me, of gentlemen who knew the facts—had always been chiefly raised by the small planters and farmers. The large plantations, of a thousand bales, had very little to do with making up the total, which consisted mainly of the two and three bales each of the small farmers. And now, since the planting of cotton, except for home use, had been prohibited, these small farmers had found themselves living so comfortably and independently in this [Northern] style, that they were not likely to return to their old habits. At the same time, the breaking up of slave labor threw into the market a large number of laborers, whose habits had become unsettled, and who now would work for wages for the small farmers who had never owned slaves—being, as it were, members of their families, like hired laborers at the North, and sitting at the same table with their employers. It occurred to me that this would tend to destroy the hostility which undoubtedly exists between the "poor whites" and the blacks; and the result will be without doubt to elevate the poorer classes of farmers, by giving them a supply of cheap labor, while, at the same time, as I said in my last letter, the aristocracy is utterly ruined. It seems to me, too, if it is a fact that the cotton crop is chiefly made up from these seemingly insignificant contributions, that the supply on hand is likely to be larger than is usually estimated. I heard nobody in South Carolina put it higher than a million and a half of bales.

While upon the subject of free labor, I asked what was the disposition of the planters towards the freedmen, and whether they would receive just and fair treatment from them as a whole. Mr. O.'s answer was that he believed the prevailing disposition was to treat them well and fairly, and that certainly it was for their own interest to do so. He thought, indeed, that the danger was the other way—there was so great an apprehension felt of disturbances among them, and so great anxiety to avoid any pretext for complaint, that he thought they were likely to go further than was advisable in the direction of conciliating them and keeping them quiet. I urged the danger there was of class legislation, all the political power being in the hands of one class—that even with the best of intentions one class could not legislate well for another—they must be influenced unconsciously by their prejudices and interests; and asked whether it would be safe, in view of this danger, to reconstruct the State at once. He resented a little the suggestion of *safety*—self-government was a *right*, and "you in Massachusetts—supposing the case reversed, and the State held in subjection by South Carolina—would not exactly like to be asked whether it was *safe* to let you manage your own affairs." At the same time, he admitted the possibility of the danger, and could only say that he believed there was every desire to do right, and that there was no more risk than there always must be in political affairs. He would not demand an immediate restoration of civil government—there was no hurry about that—and he would not say that Congress might not impose certain conditions or restrictions upon State legislation (he did not commit himself, however, upon the right of Congress to do this), all he insisted upon was that South Carolina should not be governed from outside [by Massachusetts, he meant], but should have full powers of self-government at no very

distant day. So that he came at last upon precisely the same ground with myself—delay, conditions of reconstruction, and then complete State rights in the true sense of that term.

The fact is, they feel and say that Massachusetts ideas have conquered South Carolina ideas; and while they admit that this is the case, and that they themselves must re-establish their State with the aid of Massachusetts ideas, they cannot bear the idea of having this done *by Massachusetts*—they can do it themselves, and will do it. I think this sensitiveness, which I found quite general among the older people, is at the bottom of some of what passes as a rebellious spirit (I am far from implying that it is so with most instances of this), and I am very sure that I could say nothing against it, but to protest that all the nation required was that the men whom we had set free should be *bona fide* protected in their freedom—we owed it to them that the freedom we had given them should not be worse for them than their former slavery. It may be at the bottom too of the disinclination to sell land which is observed—they are inclined to look upon new comers as interlopers. This very natural feeling, with which I could not help sympathizing in some degree, will be the most difficult thing to deal with—for instance, in the work of establishing schools through the South. If it is delicately and judiciously managed, there need be, I am convinced, no difficulty in getting the best among the planters and other citizens to take an interest in colored schools, and even to co-operate actively in their support.

The conversation did not turn upon negro suffrage, but I talked upon that subject with several other gentlemen, whom I found of all grades of opinion, from the one who said that the negroes would "never vote in South Carolina—never!" to the three Charlestonians who agreed with me that the races should have equal rights, and that the suffrage should be upon the basis of intelligence. This was likewise the ground taken by all the colored people that I talked with.

Mr. O. confirmed the common statement as to the small amount of corn raised this year. His usual crop was 1,300 acres—this year he has only 700. By "usual crop" I understood him to refer only to the time since the planting of cotton on a large scale was forbidden. Before that time the planters had bought most of their provisions, I believe. He thought that the negroes would really get less for their labor under the contract—in his case, half the crop, from which their expenses while the crop is making are to be deducted—than they did before; for before they got the whole of the crop. I heard this same view expressed also by other planters, and regret that I did not find out more exactly what they meant. Of course, it could not be true, as a rule, that the proceeds of the plantation were always all expended in feeding and clothing the negroes, although I rather think it is a fact that planters generally made little by their crop but their own support (in extravagant style) and that of the plantation, most of their profit being from the increase of their slaves. Probably what these gentlemen meant was, that during the war they have grown nothing but provisions, and of these only enough for their own use; so that now the negroes are to have only a half, where last year they consumed practically the whole of the crop; and that with crops averaging only half of last year's! No wonder, if this is so, that they are dreading famine. One thing, however, is certain: they must have raised enough during the war to have to spare for the army, a burden they will be free from this year.

This rate of contract—half the crop, with the expenses deducted—is the honest one; indeed, it is almost universal in some districts. About Orangeburg and Columbia, however, the contracts vary according to the caprice of the individual, the officers in charge of the business taking care that there is no injustice done to either party. They told me that it was impossible to lay down any rigid rule—that what would be a fair rate on one plantation would not be on another. In this district many of the planters agree to furnish food and clothing and not a fraction of the crop besides. The question then is, supposing half the crops (with these expenses deducted) is a fair share, what will be the just rate when these are thrown in? It is obvious that the larger the proportion of working hands among the negroes, the larger their fair share of the crop. It is also obvious that where there is a very small crop planted, the half-crop of the negroes may be entirely used up in advance in supporting them. I do not doubt that in some cases where they are to receive half the crop this will actually be the case, and that they will end the year nominally in debt to their employers. A recent order of Gen. Hatch forbids contracts which require such debts to be worked out afterwards. No contracts are approved at Orangeburg which give the freedmen less than one-tenth of the crop besides their expenses. This seems small, but it will be seen from what I have said that it guarantees, at any rate, that the freed people shall not end the year empty-handed, and I was assured that the circumstances in each case were carefully examined.

I copied the terms of one contract, which may be of interest. There were six working hands and eight children. They were to be supported to the end of the year, being provided with one suit of clothes. At the end of the year, each working hand was to receive nine bushels of corn, one bushel of rice out of every fifty raised, and half the potatoes remaining on hand. They were to have every other Saturday to themselves, and their crops were to be cultivated with the proprietor's. This last item refers to the lots of land which were allowed to each hand to cultivate for himself—or rather, as appears by this, to be planted according to his fancy, but worked at the expense of the employer. This is a provision which, I was told, came into a good many of the contracts, the terms of which might otherwise appear disadvantageous to the laborer.

MARCEL.

## THE SOUTH AS IT IS.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

VI.

LYNCHBURG, Va., August 12, 1865.

DURING the past week I have been making short journeys into the country round about Lynchburg, travelling by the canal or on horseback, and visiting parts of the counties of Appomattox, Campbell, Amherst, Bedford, and Rockbridge.

Everywhere the country presents the same general aspect, except that as the traveller goes westward and enters the limestone region, the streams no longer look as if they ran with puddle-water, and the eye is not wearied by the hot, bricklike consistency and color of the red clay soil as it glares and cracks in the sun. But everywhere are steep hills bright green with grass, or darker with a heavy growth of walnut and chestnut trees laden with their fruit, pines, gum trees, and black, red, and white oaks; little brooks fall in successive cascades down ledges of rock, or trickle over the face of cliffs that overhang the road and shade it; and almost always blue mountains are to be seen upon the verge of the horizon. Almost always, too, the roads are rough and lonely, so that, travelling slowly along, one has time and opportunity to enjoy the great beauty of the scenery. Occasionally a negro man or woman is met, perhaps leading a child and carrying a bundle of clothes, perhaps driving home a long string of cows from pasture, who makes a low bow or curtsy and trudges on, turning often to stare at the stranger; or a white man, mounted on a mule or horse, rides slowly along, invariably giving a salutation as he passes, wishing a "Good morning" if the time is earlier than one o'clock in the day, and, if it is later, always saying "Good evening, sir." At every house there is a field of corn, which seems to grow with an almost rank luxuriance of leaf and stalk, though I noticed that seldom any single plant bore more than one ear. Fields of wheat and oat stubble were of rare occurrence, and I saw none at all of any great extent. Of these two crops the former, I am informed, is very light in all this section. I was told of one farmer whose ill fortune had been remarkable. He had sown forty bushels of seed, and from it all got but eleven bushels of wheat, and these in the aggregate weighed only one hundred and twenty-six pounds. As to the character of his husbandry I made no enquiries.

Where I have been, houses of the better sort are few, or, at least, few are visible from the road as one rides along. Some, however, I saw, standing among trees, and well built of wood or of brick—roomy and pleasant mansions, that looked as if they might be the residences of people at once farmers and educated gentlemen, and the abodes of a hospitality of which we may read in Virginian histories. Not far from such houses were usually the cabins of the negro laborers, huts, framed and boarded in some instances, in some instances built of unhewn logs. Similar to these are the greater number of the detached houses occupied by the white population of the country through which I have been travelling. Very simple architectural rules govern the construction of these dwellings, and a description of one is a description of all. They are about fourteen feet in length and from ten to twelve feet in width. The height from the ridge-pole to the ground does not exceed fourteen feet. The chimney, which is always at one of the gable ends of the building, and on the outside of it, sometimes just peers above the roof and sometimes stops short a yard or so below it, and vents its smoke against the wall. The dwelling has two windows, unglazed, but furnished with a shutter, which is closed when the rain comes in or when the wind is in such a quarter that there is difficulty in persuading the smoke to go up the chimney if there is any interference with the draft from the door. The floor may be of earth trodden hard, or, as is more common, of boards; and there are also boards laid upon the cross beams which, terminating just beneath the eaves, separate the lower room from the space immediately under the rafters. These boards form the floor of a loft, which contains the beds of the children, and which

also serves as the granary and general store-room of the family. Most likely the apartment on the ground floor is unequally divided by a rough partition wall of home-made clapboards, and thus another private sleeping place is obtained; opposite the bedroom-door is the fireplace, six feet high and four feet wide, an oblong hole of these dimensions having been cut in the logs that form the end wall. Outside the house two upright posts, one opposite each side of the above-mentioned aperture, and about four feet distant from it, are planted in the ground. Then "punchcons," pieces of wood roughly resembling laths, and used for the same purpose, are so arranged as to form the three sides of the fire-place, shorter punchcons, laid as children lay sticks in making cob-houses, are piled one on another till the frame-work of the chimney, growing narrower as it ascends, is properly made. Over all is spread a thick coat of mud, which commonly is well enough prepared, or often enough renewed, to protect the sides and back of the fire-place from the action of the fire, but higher up the bare punchcons are charred and in places burnt into holes where the sparks have at some time kindled the dry wood. Within and without, the house, unwhitened by paint or whitewash, bears traces of continual smoke and the blackening power of time and weather. The furniture is of course scanty and of the poorest kind. The objects that most strike the attention on entering are the large fire-place with its cooking utensils, and the range of pipkins and tubs, with the drinking gourds, containing water; for few of these houses are provided with a well, and the water is brought from the nearest spring at set times of the day, the vessels being usually carried on the heads of the children. A fence of palings, or of pickets interwoven with brushwood, encloses a small patch of garden ground, planted with cabbages, string-beans, and tomatoes. Just at the door-step, where the soil is likely to be richest, a dozen of tobacco plants, raised for home consumption, grow strong and tall, and near by is a bush or two of red peppers, much used by these people in medicine and in cookery. Probably a small fowl-hutch stands at the corner of the garden, two or three pigs lie at length by the road-side, and there is, never wanting a noisy cur to bark at the passer-by. Sometimes it is a group of white children, sometimes of little negroes, that gaze at me from the doorway. Always there is corn growing beside such cabins, and beside one I saw the only cotton that I have yet observed in Virginia. There was, perhaps, half or three-eighths of an acre of it, and the plants were in full blossom. The field seemed clear of grass and weeds, but the cotton was not two feet high, and must, I should think, have been unmanured. The people who inhabit these houses must be the poorest of those who draw rations from the Government stores, and so far as my observation has extended, the military order which remands them to their own resources for a livelihood is perfectly justifiable, as relieving the Government of an unnecessary burden, and discouraging indolence.

Nearly as often seen as houses of this kind are the dwellings of the ordinary class of farmers, who cultivate from one to three hundred acres of land. They are usually of wood, painted white, and surrounded by a post and rail fence, inside of which are plum and peach trees, and, very likely, one or two forest trees for shade. A little in the rear, in a condition more or less dilapidated, stands a row of three or four negro cabins. The farm-houses seem to contain three rooms or four, uncarpeted and otherwise poorly furnished; but in external appearance the house itself, the farm outbuildings, and the fences are a good deal superior to those which have just been described, and offer many indications of the greater means, if not of the greater thrift, of the owner. The inmates differ less than their habitations, being alike in manners and speech, and generally giving one the impression that, without having much knowledge or having been greatly indebted to education, they are intelligent and tolerably civil and good-natured. There is an occasional exception. Fatigued with riding the other day, and the weather being very hot, I came to one of these houses, which stood invitingly in a cool and shady yard. Dismounting, I walked in. A lean and dirty-looking woman of some forty years of age sat, without occupation, beside the door, and of her I begged a drink of water.

"Thar's the well."

I drew some water, and drank from the little tin pail which served for a bucket. The not very gracious reception I had met with made me think it not best to try to get a dinner from the woman, and I asked if there was any house near, where travellers were taken in.

"Go on down to the station. Heap o' people lives thar."

"Is there any place there where I can get a dinner and have my horse fed?"

"Reckon ye kin. Kin try it. Heap o' people lives thar, anyhow."

"Is there a hotel or anything of that kind?"

"They used to keep a kind o' tavern thar. Don't know what they do now. Country yerabouts is mighty bar."

"I suppose you could n't get me a dinner, ma'am?"

"Hed our dinner at half-past eleven."

"How far is it to the station?"

"Mile, maybe; maybe mo'."

So I rode on, and soon crossing a railroad track came to a "kind o' tavern." It was a farm-house, not dissimilar to the one I had just left. The landlady, with a sun-bonnet perched on the back of her head, met me in the yard with a look of close scrutiny, and informed me that my horse could have some chopped oats, and that for me there was some lamb, she reckoned. I followed her into the house. There was a hall with a door at each end. Sitting in the draft, and in the full blaze of the afternoon sun, was a man in his shirt-sleeves and with an empty pipe in his mouth. Beside his feet lay an old hat, which he seemed to have been using as a spittoon. Without looking up, he said something as I entered, and I stopped to hear his remark.

"Never heed," said the woman; "old man's been drinkin' apple brandy. Walk into the parlor." Dinner was made ready, and I ate it to the accompaniment of a song which was unintelligibly droned out by the old gentleman in the hall. The flies bothered him a good deal, and the song was interrupted by growling at them. By the time dinner was over, he was thoroughly awake and quite attentive to his guests.

A negro man-servant waited at the table, over which presided the landlady, with a palmetto fan in her hand. From a silver-plated pitcher, bearing an inscription to the effect that at an agricultural fair it had been awarded to the landlord as a prize, she offered me cider, made the day before. It had been pressed from apples laid in a trough and beaten with a pestle. A good part of their cider, she said, was made by that process. Sitting in the parlor after dinner, a pale young man, limping as he walked, came into the room and accosted me. He wore the gray uniform jacket and trousers which, especially in the country, are so very common as to seem almost the universal male dress. He apologized for addressing a stranger, but wished to know, he said, if I were not a relation of General Wise of Norfolk, as I bore a marked resemblance to that gentleman. I informed him that I had never been in Virginia until the middle of this year; that I was from the North. Having thus begun to talk, we conversed for some time about the war, the soldiers of the two sections, the state of the country at present, and its future prospects.

Yes, that was a quiet place, he said, a mighty quiet little place, but it was none too quiet for him. He never wanted to hear another gun fired in war as long as he lived. There was no more fight left in him. Ever since the 6th day of April, 1861, he had been in the army, knocking round in camps, or marching or fighting, and he had no desire to shoot at anybody or to be shot at by anybody any more. He was eager to go in when he first went, but if they had another war they'd have to burn the woods and sift the ashes before they'd find him in it. His sympathies were with the Southern cause, and always would be, but there would n't be another war in behalf of it. The South was sick of fighting, and the North was too strong. How was it down there at Appomattox Court-House? When Lee started from Petersburg he had only a handful of men; nearly all he had he lost on the way up by desertion and death in battle; and on the Sunday when he surrendered, Grant's army was one hundred and fifty thousand strong. Yes, he was willing to acknowledge himself beaten for good and all.

Did he think a foreign war would unite the North and South? No, nor anything else. Three-fourths of the Confederate soldiers would be more inclined to join Maximilian, if Andy Johnson should make war on him, than to fight for the United States. But he hoped and thought there would be no more war. He wanted to go to Brazil himself, if he could. That was the place for Southerners, and the emperor wanted them there, too. But a man needed capital, and what was he to do who had n't had more than six dollars since he got out of a Federal prison, over two months ago? That was his case. He had been captured before Petersburg, badly wounded, and had been in hospital or in jail ever since last January. He had a little money when he went in, but since he came out six dollars was all he'd seen, and that he got by borrowing it. He had been for a good while in prison when the news came of Lee's surrender. He did not give up then. When the news of Johnston's surrender came, he concluded the Confederacy was done. His father, who owned some property in Norfolk, came down to get it back again if he could, and he succeeded in getting released at about that time. But his father had failed to get his estate restored to him and had left the city, so that when he reached it he found himself without money. He lived awhile with some relations, all as poor as himself, and at last went up to see an uncle, who was a wealthy man and owned a fine place near the Potomac. After a short stay at his house, he asked for the loan of enough money to carry him home. His uncle told him he had none, but he would endeavor to get him a little. So he made his niggers kill some sheep

and carry the mutton down to the crews of a couple of Yankee schooners lying in the river. When the meat was sold, his uncle gave him six dollars. Since then, being sick, he had been staying round among his relations, and if he were well, he did n't know what he should be able to do. Could get corn-bread enough, he supposed, to keep the life in him for some years to come, but that did n't seem much of a show for a man, and the worst of it was that all the people were in about that same state, and there did n't seem to be much chance that their condition would improve for the next ten or twenty years.

I said that I supposed things were bad enough in the Southern country, but that it seemed to me not impossible that farmers and planters in Virginia and in most parts of the South might get a better living, if they hired their laborers as Northern farmers did, than they formerly got by working slaves.

"Yes, sir," he replied, "of course you think so. Every man from your section says the same thing. You do n't know the niggers. No nigger, free or slave, in these Southern States, nor in any part of the known world, ever would work or ever will work unless he's made to. Have you ever been in Norfolk?"

"Yes, I was there for a day or two; in the city merely."

"Well, when you are there again, just go out ten miles on any road leading from the city. All along by the roadside you'll see that the niggers have built little shanties of old boards and so on, and they've got a little corn growing beside them, and you won't find one in ten of the patches that has n't got more grass in it than corn. They would n't hoe it. There's the grass higher than the corn, and there are the niggers sitting in the shade. Now, do you think those Norfolk niggers won't starve by the thousand this winter? Wait and see. They're sure to starve if they are left to their own means of support."

"But are n't they like other people? Won't the experience of starvation be enough to make them work?"

"They may scratch a living one way and another—those of them that are left after these two winters are over; but starvation is n't going to make them good steady laborers. Our free niggers used to starve enough. Steady labor is what we want; and it's what we're not going to get from them."

"Do you have a good deal of trouble with them here?"

"I do n't really know much about this vicinity. I believe they are doing very well. They have n't been free long enough here, and have n't had time to get saucy. Down in Norfolk, where they've been free this two years, it's a different thing. Besides, the niggers in this State have n't had enough to do this year. There has n't been work enough done to test them. It is next year and the next after that will tell the story. There's no work in a nigger, and so you would say if you knew them as well as I do."

"Do you think that giving them a vote would tend to make them better laborers and better members of society? There's some talk of that at the North."

"Give them a vote! I would rather die, sir, than see a nigger voting in old Virginia. I would rather die," repeated the young man with emphasis, "and so every citizen of this State will say."

"Why," said I, "free negroes once had a vote in nearly, if not quite, every Southern State, so it would not be without precedent if the right of suffrage were now given to free negroes. And for the rest, would it be safe to trust white men at the South with the power to repudiate the national debt? I believe many Northern men fear that might happen."

"Repudiate? I should hope they would. I'm whipped, and I'll own it; but I'm not so fond of a whipping that I'm going to pay a man's expenses while he gives it to me. Of course, there are not ten men in the whole South that would n't repudiate."

The young man had evidently become somewhat heated during the latter part of our talk, and said things which, I dare say, he did not wholly believe, and would not have said at the beginning of it.

Leaving the tavern, after paying "a dollar and a quarter in greenbacks" for the entertainment, I rode on over a hilly road, and just at evening came to the famous little hamlet of Appomattox Court-House, where I rested during the night, neither the one sheet, which was all that the bed boasted, nor the vermin, nor the heat, preventing my sleeping soundly.

## ENGLAND.

LONDON, August 2, 1865.

THERE being at this moment an absolute dearth of news, I shall take the opportunity of writing to you on a subject important not only in itself, but as an illustration of our national character, and that is the feeling of England towards America since the conclusion of the war. For the moment, then, if you will allow me to speak frankly, the public interest in your



affairs, whether friendly or hostile, has to a great extent died away. Our fits of excitement with regard to foreign countries are always short-lived. Anybody acquainted with England can always predict beforehand the rise, decline, and fall of our accesses of foreign enthusiasms. Whether the object of our sympathy is Italy, or Denmark, or Poland, the course is just the same. Suddenly the condition of the "most favored" country is the one topic which fills our newspapers; its representatives are the lions of the day; bazaars are held and subscriptions raised to promote its cause; pamphlets by the hundred are written in its behalf; and then of a sudden the interest dies away. We do not change our opinions, but still sympathize in the abstract with the "oppressed nationality," be it what it may; but we are tired of the subject, and pass on to something else. This fickleness is of course resented by the deposed favorite, but, I think, unjustly. With an empire so vast as ours, it is impossible we should devote any lengthened attention, as a nation, to the affairs of other countries. Our sympathy is genuine enough while it lasts; it is not our fault if it is of its nature short-lived. Now the Southern Confederacy had its day of popular English favor. To do ourselves justice, the South never occupied the same high rank in our affections as Hungary, or Italy, or Poland had done in previous years. If I may use a theatrical metaphor, the spectacle of Southern independence filled the stalls and dress circle, but never "drew" the pit or gallery. The old national dislike to the name of slavery always hindered the cause of the South from being popular with the masses. Yet for a time the Confederacy had what the French call a "succès d'estime." It was clear to observers that the interest in the South was dying out, long before the war ended; and had it been far stronger than it ever was, it could not have survived the downfall of the Confederacy. If ever there was a nation which had the faculty of forgetting what it does not like to remember, it is our own. Our pro-Southern sympathizers are, to speak the plain truth, annoyed with their clients. They were so confident that the Confederacy could never be subdued, that the Southerners would fight to the last man, and that no proposal for reunion would ever be listened to by the seceded States, that the complete and sudden collapse of the Confederacy was felt, by the English admirers of the South, to be a sort of personal injury. Confederate stock in consequence has fallen as low in the social as it has in the commercial market. The interest has died out; and the few advocates of the South who still, like the *Standard*, remain faithful to a fallen cause, find that they preach to deaf ears.

Thus the Confederate cause has become unpopular; but it does not follow that the Federal cause has become a popular one. No doubt English feeling has changed very much within the last few months. The assassination of President Lincoln not only excited an extraordinary sensation, but it gave a death-blow to the repute for chivalrous gallantry which strangely enough had been believed to cling to the South. Then, too, the generous use you have made hitherto of your victory has produced a marked effect. The rough good sense of the nation has shown it that—no matter what its leaders in the press may declare—a people which has shown itself so merciful in the hour of triumph is not likely to have been especially vindictive in the heat of battle. And, finally, the fact of your success is patent and undeniable. Cynics would say that this last fact is the sole cause of our change of feeling; but cynicism is very rarely the expression of the truth; and it is only partially so in the present instance. With regard to either England or America, it matters, I think, singularly little what is the sentimental view which each takes of the other. The great political and commercial interests which unite our two countries are quite sufficient to ensure permanent good-will, apart from any personal likes or dislikes. We have both got work enough to do at home; and I believe our relations would be far more cordial if we both cared less about the comments that each of us makes on the other's conduct. On this account, I think it is a decided advantage that the English excitement about America, either pro-Northern or pro-Southern, is passing away. While the war lasted I was most anxious that my countrymen should entertain juster and kinder views of the North, because the prejudice against the Federal cause created for the time a risk of intervention; but that danger is happily avoided; and I think, henceforth, facts will plead your case better than any arguments. If our newspapers have now only a stray article here and there about the United States, and if the telegrams from America are no longer looked for with intense interest, the course of affairs across the Atlantic will not, I suspect, be materially modified.

The chief interest, I own, which the immediate progress of your work of reconstruction possesses for us now is the effect it is likely to produce on the cause of popular government. You have done so much to vindicate the character of democracy that its friends in the Old World are perhaps unreasonably anxious lest you should do anything to throw any discredit whatever on its success. On this account, you will perhaps pardon me if I try to

explain the reasons why men like myself, who have sympathized as Englishmen with your struggle for freedom and nationality, and who cannot be justly accused of any love for the Confederate cause, are yet opposed to the penalty of death being inflicted on the leaders of the secession movement. For Mr. Davis himself I think I have as little respect or sympathy as for any man alive. Contrary to the received opinion in England, I never could see the evidence of his possessing any extraordinary ability. Still less, as far as I could discover, was there about him any trace of that heroism which often redeems the championship of an evil cause. Moreover, I must fairly own that my sense of poetical justice would be satisfied by his execution. Any man who, right or wrong, chooses to upset a settled government and inaugurate a revolution, ought to risk his life as the price of failure. John Brown, I conceive, had no cause to complain about his execution, however noble may have been the object for which he suffered death; and if Kossuth had been hung by the Austrians in Hungary, and Garibaldi by the Neapolitans in Sicily, I, for one, should never have said that personally they had been hardly dealt by. If you choose to gamble and lose, you should be prepared to pay; and if Mr. Davis should suffer death on the gallows, he will only undergo the same penalty that many better men have suffered for a like offence. Moreover, I admit freely that you have ample precedent for executing captured rebels, and that Englishmen, of all people in the world, have the least right to blame you for exercising your privilege. Two historical anecdotes I can mention, amongst hundreds of others, show clearly enough how little right we have to lay down the law with reference to the treatment of defeated insurgents. In the last volume of the Wellington dispatches, there will be found a letter from Lord Liverpool to Earl Castlereagh in Paris, written at the time Napoleon was making his way to the coast after the battle of Waterloo. In that letter the British minister remarks that, if the emperor should fall into our hands, his disposal would be a source of extreme embarrassment to his majesty's Government, and therefore Lord Castlereagh is advised to urge upon the royal Government of France the expediency of catching Napoleon before he could make good his escape, and hanging him as a traitor. The other story does not rest on documentary evidence, but I have heard it on good authority. At the period when the American War of Independence was at the lowest of its fortunes, General Clinton wrote home stating that it was very probable the insurgent army might surrender at discretion, and, in that case, he should like to know what he should do with Washington. The answer forwarded was that the general should be tried by a drum-head court-martial, and shot as a deserter. Now, quite apart from any political prejudice, every Englishman must feel thankful that these two propositions were never carried out, and that his country was saved the lasting disgrace which the execution of Napoleon or Washington would have conferred upon her. Yet I have known people of a past generation who believed to the last that the first Napoleon was a monster of iniquity such as the world ought not to have allowed to breathe; and—strange as the fact may seem to you—English contemporary literature of the end of the last century proves conclusively that honest, though mistaken, persons held Washington to have been guilty of heinous offences. The execution of Major André and of the Duc d'Enghien were thought, by the hasty judgment of Englishmen, to be crimes which placed their authors beyond the pale of civilization. Posterity has not confirmed the justice of this verdict; and I am not altogether sure, or rather, I would say, you cannot be altogether sure, that the estimate the next generation places on the character of Jefferson Davis will be quite the same as you place upon it now. The instinct of mankind makes a difference between wholesale and retail crimes. It is all very well for your poet, Mr. Lowell, to have said—

"Ez fer war, I call it murder;"

but practically the author of the "Biglow Papers," even at the height of his antagonism to the Mexican War, would, I am sure, have acknowledged that a soldier and a murderer were not liable to the same penalties. I am not disputing for one moment the truth of the accusations of cruelty and barbarity I see attributed in your papers to the Ex-President of the Confederacy. Whether they are true or not, is a fact of which you are the best judge. All I say is, that any amount of crime committed by a man in his public character is somehow or other not the same thing as a crime perpetrated in his private character for personal ends, and therefore I am unwilling that a people whose conduct of the war will be recognized by history as characterized by an unexampled humanity, should commit what I hold to be the error of confusing public with private guilt. I should like the record of a war for freedom carried on by a free people to be stainless to the end. Moreover, I do not wish Mr. Davis or any of the leaders of secession to have the sort of hybrid glory which is conferred on all who suffer death for a political cause, be that cause good or evil. There never was a more brutal, cowardly, and monstrous crime than the attempt of Orsini to assassinate

the Emperor Napoleon, by the explosion of an infernal machine. Never was a man executed more justly, and yet it would have been better had this crack-brained assassin been allowed to live. The mere fact of his death has invested him in popular imagination with something of the attributes of a hero; and I believe the "Red" faction in France would have been more powerless than it is if Orsini had never died. The time is not, I think, far distant when the world will acknowledge the fact that the punishment of death is a relic of barbarism; and I wish to see the United States take the lead in what may be called, without any cant in this instance, the path of progress. Perhaps you may think that I am wandering from my duties as a correspondent in thus discussing a matter which in its immediate issue concerns America alone. But the subject of the fate of the Southern leaders is one which still commands great attention in England. I can understand and sympathize with the indignation you must feel at the foolish diatribes of the pro-Southern journals in this country, that have the audacity to talk as if the execution of Jefferson Davis would be a crime unparalleled in history; and therefore I think you may like to know the grounds on which well-wishers to the Union hope that the life of the men who betrayed the republic may still be spared.

About the only news of the week is that Dr. Colenso is going back to Natal. Amidst the excitement of a civil war you have probably taken no particular note of the great religious war which has raged here for the last three years, as to whether the Bishop of Natal has or has not been guilty of heresy in his views concerning the inspired character of the Pentateuch. Nobody can have a greater antipathy to ecclesiastical controversies than I have myself: I have ever entertained a sneaking sympathy for the Indian editor who at the time of the great baptismal regeneration dispute between the Bishop of Exeter and Dr. Gorham, headed his summary of European news: "The Gorham case again: d—the Gorham case." I am not going therefore to enter on the question whether Dr. Colenso did or did not prove that the children of Israel could not have eaten the number of pigeons they are supposed to have done according to Holy Writ. His book is a very dull one, and would have excited no attention if it had not been written by a bishop. However, the Orthodox party in the country, whether High Church or Low Church, resented most bitterly this heresy on the part of an ordained bishop, and every means has been resorted to to oust him from his diocese. However, every court of law which could be appealed to decided that there was nothing in the views put forward by the bishop inconsistent with his remaining in his see of Natal; and then his opponents, being driven to extremities, resorted to a piece of rather sharp practice in order to punish him for his want of orthodoxy. The salary of our colonial bishops is made up partly by a grant from Government, and partly by a subsidy from certain religious societies, who attach enormous importance to the introduction of Episcopacy into our colonies. In consideration of this subsidy, these societies are allowed to recommend the candidates for any vacant bishopric. Dr. Colenso was so appointed, being at the time of his nomination the most orthodox of clergymen. Unfortunately, when he became prone to heretical proclivities, the societies in question resolved to stop his pay, without which he could not manage to discharge the duties of his see; and when he protested, they told him that he might go to law for his remedy—a recommendation which they knew to be futile, as the societies, being supported by voluntary subscriptions, cannot easily be sued. In order to counteract this move, a number of the bishop's friends have subscribed some £3,000, or six years' allowance, to enable him to return to Natal. He is now on the eve of sailing—a fact at which the indifferent public will rejoice, as we had got dreadfully weary of the Colenso controversy.

Another old bone of controversy, though not of a religious character, seems likely at last to be removed from public discussion. After twelve years of quarrelling and bickering, the "Guild of Literature," which was to have re-organized the whole condition of the world of letters, has become a reality. It is true that the scheme has dwindled down into the erection of three almshouses for decayed artists or writers, for which occupants happily cannot yet be found. However, the almshouses are there, and their opening was inaugurated on Saturday last by a fête at Sir Bulwer Lytton's, who was the chief promoter of the scheme, and whose play of "Not so bad as we Seem" raised the largest share of the funds for its realization. Charles Dickens was there, and made a happy speech, as usual; but with this exception there was not a single first-rate or even second-rate representative of English letters or art. Why it should be so, I cannot discuss now; but the fact is that every attempt to get English literary men to work together has always proved a failure; and with us a fund is always synonymous with a job of some kind or other.

Considerable dissatisfaction is expressed at the way in which Mr. Peabody's munificent donation to the poor of London is to be disposed of. The

trustees have built a number of model lodging-houses, which are to be let to working-men earning not less than a pound a week and of good character. Now the class so designated is a very deserving one, and one, as a rule, very badly housed; but still it is not a class that can be considered as representing the poor of London. It is for this class, for the class which infests our streets, and which, happily for you, you have not in America, that the Peabody gift was, I believe, designed.

### POISONING AS A SCIENCE.

To an intelligent person deliberately contemplating the perpetration of murder, the inducements to make use of poisons are certainly very great. The secrecy with which the processes can be carried on, the fact that violence and bloodshed are avoided, the safety to the perpetrator which the passive condition of the unsuspecting victim guarantees, the similarity which exists between the symptoms produced and those of many well known diseases, and the difficulties of detecting the poisonous substances in the body of the deceased, are considerations which the educated murderer cannot contemplate with indifference. It may safely be asserted that so great are the advantages which poisons offer over other murderous agents, that but for the great advance which has taken place in late years in the sciences of physiology and chemistry, the career of the poisoner of the present day would be as triumphant and as safe as that of either Toffana or the Marchioness de Brinvilliers, who numbered their victims by hundreds, and whose iniquities were not arrested till the perpetrators had become over-bold by long continued and unvarying success.

We all know what a poison is, and yet if we attempt to define the word, we find we have undertaken a very difficult task. The dictionaries say that any substance, animal, vegetable, or mineral, which, if taken into the stomach, introduced into the blood, or applied to the skin, produces derangement of the system or death, is a poison. A little reflection is sufficient to convince us of the error of this definition. If it be correct, the indiscreet youth who dies from a surfeit of green pears, or the miserable wretch who is bastinadoed to death by a Turkish executioner, are poisoned. Water is not a poison, and yet many persons have died from drinking too much of it, and even from small quantities imbibed at improper times. But for all practical purposes, it is immaterial whether or not we can accurately define the word poison. We are able to classify the agents to which poisonous properties are ascribed into three groups, and though the arrangement may possess objectionable features in the eyes of the systematic toxicologist, it is sufficiently precise for all the useful ends of the jurist or the physician.

Looking at the matter therefore from a purely practical point of view, we make three grand classes of poisons:

1st, Those which act locally, producing inflammation and disorganization of the parts of the body to which they are applied;

2d, Those which cause excitement or depression of the brain or nervous system, and which must therefore be absorbed into the blood; and

3d, Those which act both locally and generally. Under the first category are included the corrosive acids, alkalies, and mineral substances generally. Under the second, opium, henbane, hemlock, stramonium, nux vomica, and other vegetable substances, with their active principles, morphia, strychnia, etc., hydrocyanic or prussic acid and its compounds, together with several substances of animal origin. Under the third, tobacco, belladonna, poisonous mushrooms, aconite, etc.

Now it is of great importance to the poisoner that he should possess tolerably correct ideas relative to the properties and effects of the substance he contemplates using: one of well-defined taste, or of striking color, or which when administered produces strongly marked symptoms, or which admits of easy recognition after death, is a dangerous agent for him as well as for the object of his machinations. A poison therefore like sulphuric acid, with its highly sour taste and its intensely corrosive action on the mouth, throat, and stomach, causing immediately the most agonizing pain, would not be thought of by any but the most ignorant bungler. And so of arsenic, which, though tasteless, produces violent pain and vomiting, and which can be detected in the blood or tissues of the body, when present, in wondrously small quantities, and after years have elapsed since death. In a case which is on record the body had lain in the grave for over ten years, and had become reduced to a skeleton; the bones were examined chemically, arsenic was discovered, corroborative evidence was adduced, the prisoner confessed, and a verdict of guilty was rendered. Nearly all the substances of the class of irritant poisons give rise to prominent and violent symptoms, and are readily detected by chemical analysis. No refined, educated, and intelligent poisoner who has a due regard for his own welfare, would think of using any of them. They are only fit to be employed by those murderously inclined indi-



viduals who, possessed with the idea that they must kill some one, are gracious enough to immolate themselves.

But if we turn our attention to that class of poisons which includes those not possessed of irritant properties, but which, when taken into the stomach, must be digested and absorbed into the blood before they can produce deleterious effects, the case is very different. Chemistry has made such rapid progress in isolating the active principles of poisonous substances, and thus giving us in exceedingly small compass agents of tremendous potency, that it is doubtful whether the advance which has also been made in the direction of tests and antidotes has been sufficient to neutralize the additional power she has conferred on the evil-minded. Thus the one-tenth of a grain of aconitina, the active principle of aconite, is regarded by high authority as a fatal dose for a human being. Such a small quantity could be so administered as to attract no attention. There is no antidote which can be depended upon, and no chemical test which is competent to establish the fact of its presence in the body. Another of these principles—fortunately unknown to commerce, and scarcely even heard of by chemists and physicians—extracted from the arrow poison of a tribe of South American Indians, is so powerful that if the skin of a man be even scratched with a needle dipped in its solution, death would probably result. There is neither an antidote to its effects nor a characteristic test of its presence.

But it is not likely that either aconitina, or corvovalia, or other of the high-priced and rare alkaloids, will be employed by the ordinary poisoner. It is only the adept who will ever have recourse to them. Morphia and strychnia are more readily obtained, and if they are used with discretion, chemistry is not apt to reveal their presence in the corpse. The latter substance especially, from its intensely poisonous power, has been a favorite, and, from the facility with which every villain with a dime in his pocket can purchase enough to kill half a dozen people, has to a great extent taken the place of the less energetic, better known, and more easily detected arsenic, which once occupied the highest position in the estimation of the poisoner.

Still, though chemistry cannot be exclusively relied upon to establish the presence of several of these fearful poisons, there are signs which unerringly reveal their presence. Take, for instance, strychnia—a half a grain is sufficient to cause death, and yet, if no more than this quantity were swallowed, it is exceedingly doubtful if any chemical reagents could detect its presence in the stomach or tissues. Being an organic substance, it is often so acted upon by the digestive and other fluids of the organism that it is not long before it becomes entirely decomposed into its constituent elements, and then its identity is altogether lost. Besides, however valuable the chemical tests for strychnia may be when the pure substance is subjected to their action, it is very different when the poison is mixed with organic matters, such as blood, the contents of the stomach, pulverized liver, kidneys, lungs, etc. The indications of the presence of strychnia which chemistry gives us are based upon certain changes of color which it undergoes when brought in contact with the proper reagents. These are masked or altogether destroyed by the presence of animal matters; and even when Stas' process or some other is made use of to separate the strychnia in a pure form, there are so many difficulties in the way of the due recognition of these chromatic changes that it would be exceedingly unsafe to rely upon them if they were apparently present, or to conclude that strychnia had not been administered if they were not produced. Thus, a case is recorded in which four grains of strychnia were certainly taken, the symptoms came on in an hour, and death took place in ten minutes afterwards, and yet the most careful chemical examination failed to find the poison in the body. In another instance, four grains were taken by mistake, and though death followed with great rapidity, no traces of strychnia were detected in the contents of the stomach. In the case of Cook, poisoned with strychnia by Palmer, no evidence of the presence of this substance was found in any part of the body.

But, as we have said, the poisoner is not to go free because chemistry cannot convict him. We call to our aid the science of physiology, and if strychnia has been taken into the stomach in quantity sufficient to cause death, or even in still smaller amount, we are able to bring forward such evidence of the fact as cannot be questioned. It is the only poison, with one exception—brucia, and this is also extracted from *nux vomica*—which uniformly produces well-marked tetanus or, as it is called in the vernacular tongue, locked jaw. Arsenic, antimony, and aconite occasionally give rise to tetanic spasms of an irregular character; but such convulsions, as well as the tetanics due to wounds or exposure to cold and wet, are clearly distinguishable by the competent physician from the tetanus due to an over-dose of strychnia. It was by the symptoms manifested in Cook that the medical witnesses were enabled to prove conclusively that strychnia had been the cause of his death.

But this is not all. The frog is one of the most useful animals to man.

His posterior extremities and—we tell it as a great secret, known but to few gourmands—his liver make dishes, compared to which nightingales' tongues and peacocks' brains are insipid. He has contributed more to the advancement of physiology than any other creature that inhabits the earth—allowing his abdomen to be ripped open, his brain exposed, and his nerves excised, without uttering a croak or moving a muscle; and, after all these things, he will live on in a state of quiescent beatitude as long as you please, whilst hour by hour the scientific physiologist watches him, and records the observed phenomena. Now we put him to another and still higher use. We bring him into a court of justice, and, before the wondering eyes of judge, jury, and counsel, we prove whether or not a murder has been committed with strychnia; for so sensitive is this gentle reptile to the effects of the poison in question, that a few drops of a fluid containing but a hundred-thousandth of a grain are sufficient to throw him into a state of rigid tetanus. Thus, as some one has remarked, the frog revenges himself on man for the cruelties inflicted on him; and yet not only so, for even in his revenge he is faithful to principles of utilitarianism.

What is true of strychnia is true, more or less, *mutatis mutandis*, of most of the other organic poisons. And as the science of physiology goes onward to more thorough development, we may expect that the certainty of detection will become so great that even the most skilful and most far-seeing poisoner will have little chance of escaping the punishment which the law awards to him.

### AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INSTRUCTION.

THE Educational Conference at New Haven last week had some excellent points. It was the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Institute of Instruction, an association of teachers, superintendents of public instruction, and friends of popular education, gathered chiefly, but not exclusively, from New England. Dr. Wayland, in 1830, was the first president of the society, and from the beginning onward a long line of wise and honorable men have taken part in the deliberations of the body, so that whatever merit pertains to the public schools of New England is in a considerable degree to be attributed to these annual councils.

At the recent meeting not far from five hundred persons, almost all practically concerned in teaching, were assembled in New Haven. A larger number than usual of college men were present, and were prominent in the lectures or discussions. Washburn, of the Cambridge Law School; Haven, of Michigan University; the veteran Taylor, of Andover ("Uncle Sam," as the boys will call him); Cummings, of Wesleyan University; Day, Woolsey, and Thacher, of Yale; Greene, of Providence; Upson, of Hamilton; and many more such men, gave a tone to the deliberations of the society, while some other men of weight, like Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, Señor Sarmiento, the Argentine plenipotentiary, Bishop Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, emphasized and enforced in public addresses the broad and universal principles of popular instruction.

There is always danger in these educational conventions that much which is dry and empty and worthless will be brought forward by shallow minded men. Husks and shells are prone to be the fare. But this was far from being the case at New Haven. Live men spoke on live topics. Their hearers were not "the miscellaneous public," but a professional audience, and a new impulse, in our opinion, was given to many living and weighty truths.

The present state of the country, North and South, naturally enough, was constantly brought forward. The first lecture of the week, given by Ex-Governor Washburn, of Massachusetts, full of vigor and practical wisdom, urged the immediate necessity of introducing "civil polity" as a branch of instruction in the public schools. We can imagine how such a philosopher and publicist as Dr. Lieber would be astonished at this suggestion, and inclined to protest that it was folly to teach children every new science, and still greater folly to introduce them to the abstract generalizations of the science of law and government. To scholars versed in history and philosophy and law, "civil polity" is one of the most difficult and abstruse themes, involving many undetermined problems. But it appeared from the speaker's introductory remarks that he was not advocating the introduction of impossibilities. He aimed at that only which is practical. He showed how early children form some notions of political affairs, how ready they are to assume the party names and to echo the party watch-words of the day. He claimed that the idea of *meum* and *tuum*, and hence of property and rights, was among the first which a child could appreciate. By reference to other sciences, and especially by showing the mode in which simple, practical, religious truths are taught to the youngest minds, he maintained that the well established principles of republican institutions can be taught to all our American youth. Having very clearly brought out the



possibility of such instruction, he next exhibited its importance by strong illustrations, drawn especially from the lessons of the last four years. We heartily concur in the views of the learned Governor. If the people of our republic are to remain its rulers, we must by every possible means, the school, the press, the lecture, the book, instruct and enlighten them in the true idea of the rights, and duties, and obligations of a State. The lecture of President Woolsey, and the eloquent address of Governor Andrew, incidentally confirmed the same opinions.

An interesting debate was held at one of the sessions, "High Schools *versus* Academies" being the theme. The speakers on both sides seemed to be afraid of hurting one another's feelings, and there was consequently less point to the remarks than some of the audience anticipated. Mr. White, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, who has been the agent of establishing free public high schools all over that commonwealth, explained the true character of such schools, and showed their advantages. But Mr. Hammond, the principal of a long established academy, argued that private corporations well endowed, receiving like lesser colleges pupils from abroad as well as from the neighborhood, are, in some respects, superior to high schools, and can never be dispensed with. He points triumphantly to the endowments at Andover, Exeter, Munson, East Hampton, and elsewhere. This subject is already of pressing importance in Massachusetts, and is likely soon to be so in Connecticut.

The educational wants of the Southern States were prominently brought before the Association. The loyal and patriotic Bishop of Kentucky, the secretaries of two large benevolent societies, the Union Commission and the Freedmen's Society, an accomplished African teacher from the Friends' School in Philadelphia, and others, gave such narratives of fact as were most impressive and startling. Prof. Thacher, of New Haven, then made an eloquent appeal to every patriot man or woman, willing in peace to serve his country, to be in readiness whenever the call came to go to the South and spread the light of education. It may be weeks or months before the door will be opened—but open it will be for intelligent, considerate, and unselfish educators.

A letter was read in connection with this subject from Maj.-Gen. Howard, Chief of the Freedmen's Bureau, written in an excellent spirit, to show what the Government is willing to do for the promotion of education, especially among the freedmen.

These are the more important topics which the Convention took up. On the whole, the meeting was uncommonly interesting and useful.

### GOLDEN-HAIRED GERTRUDE,

### THE CHOICEST OF JUVENILE BOOKS.

BY  
THEODORE TILTON,  
Editor of The Independent.

Illustrated from original drawings by H. L. Stephens. Printed on heavy tinted paper of finest finish. Nearly ready.

TIBBALS & WHITING,  
37 Park Row, N. Y.

PUBLISHED THIS DAY.

### ANNIE;

OR,  
CONTENTMENT.

By Mrs. MACKENZIE DANIELS,  
Author of "Fernley Manor," "Marrying for Money," etc.

"It will undoubtedly claim attention by its clever sketches of character and society."—*London New Monthly*.

"The style is flowing and unaffected, and the dialogue lively and natural."—*London Critic*.

"It abounds with much true feeling; in it are easy, chatty vivacity, wit and truthful shrewdness."—*London Weekly Times*.

PRICE FIFTY CENTS.

Mailed, free of postage, on receipt of price.

FREDERIC A. BRADY, Publisher,  
22 ANN STREET, N. Y.

### OUR MARTYR PRESIDENT.

Now Ready, Price \$2.

AGENTS WANTED.

### STIER'S WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS.

HEARTHSTONE SERIES.

SCHÖNBERG-COTTA WORKS.

### SUNDAY-SCHOOL BOOKS.

A complete library can be made up from our stock, which includes the lists of all the societies of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.

Terms as low as can be had of the publishing houses.

BOOKS FOR SALE BY

TIBBALS & WHITING,  
37 PARK ROW, NEW YORK.

STIER'S WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS,  
LANGE'S COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW,  
KNAPP'S CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY,  
MCKNIGHT ON THE EPISTLES,  
HOME'S INTRODUCTION,  
ALEXANDER'S COMMENTARY,  
HODGE'S  
OLSHAUSEN'S  
HENRY'S  
BENSON'S  
CLARK'S

BARNES' NOTES,  
BUSH'S  
JACOBUS' "  
EDWARDS' WORKS,  
WOODS' "  
KITTO'S "  
SHEDD'S CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,  
SCHAFER'S CHURCH HISTORY,  
MOSHEIM'S "  
EUSEBIUS' "

Also, a great variety of Theological Works, Sermons, etc. A liberal discount to ministers

TIBBALS & WHITING,

37 PARK ROW, New York.

### E. & H. T. ANTHONY & CO.,

MANUFACTURERS OF PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIALS,

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

501 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

In addition to our main business of PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIALS, we are Headquarters for the following, viz.:

### STEREOSCOPES AND STEREOSCOPIC VIEWS.

Of these we have an immense assortment, including War Scenes, American and Foreign Cities and Landscapes, Groups, Statuary, etc., etc.; also, Revolving Stereoscopes, for public or private exhibition. Our Catalogue will be sent to any address on receipt of stamp.

### PHOTOGRAPHIC ALBUMS.

We were the first to introduce these into the United States, and we manufacture immense quantities in great variety, ranging in price from 50 cents to \$50 each. Our ALBUMS have the reputation of being superior in beauty and durability to any others. They will be sent by mail, FREE, on receipt of price.

FINE ALBUMS MADE TO ORDER.

### CARD PHOTOGRAPHS.

Our Catalogue now embraces over FIVE THOUSAND different subjects, to which additions are continually being made of Portraits of Eminent Americans—viz., about

100 Major-Generals,	100 Lieut.-Colonels,	550 Statesmen,
200 Brig.-Generals,	250 Other Officers,	130 Divines,
275 Colonels,	75 Navy Officers,	125 Authors,
40 Artists,	125 Stage,	50 Prominent Women.

3,000 Copies of Works of Art,

including reproductions of the most celebrated Engravings, Paintings, Statues, etc. Catalogues sent on receipt of stamp. An order for One Dozen PICTURES from our Catalogue will be filled on the receipt of \$1.80, and sent by mail FREE.

Photographers and others ordering goods C. O. D., will please remit twenty-five per cent. of the amount with their orders.

Soldiers' Pocket Albums for 18 pictures, 75 cents.

The price and quality of our goods cannot fail to satisfy.

### STEREOSCOPIC VIEWS OF THE WAR,

obtained at great expense, and forming a

### COMPLETE PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY

OF THE

### GREAT UNION CONTEST.

Bull Run,	Dutch Gap,	Strawberry Plains,
Yorktown,	Pontoon Trains,	Deep Bottom,
Gettysburg,	Hanover Junction,	Belle Plain,
Fair Oaks,	Lookout Mountain,	Monitors,
Savage Station,	Chickahominy,	Chattanooga,
Fredericksburg,	City Point,	Fort Morgan,
Fairfax,	Nashville,	Atlanta,
Richmond,	Charleston,	Mobile,
Petersburg,	Etc., Etc.	Etc., Etc.

Everybody is interested in these memorable scenes.

Just published by

E. & H. T. ANTHONY & CO.,

501 Broadway, New York.

Catalogue sent on receipt of stamp.

## REBELLION RECORD.

EDITED BY FRANK MOORE.

## "A CYCLOPÆDIA OF THE WAR."

This work is a compendium of information, made up of special correspondence, official reports, and gleanings from the newspapers of both sections of the United States and of Europe.

The REBELLION RECORD has now become firmly established as the standard authority of the war. Most of the histories of the war yet published have been in a great measure compiled from this work.

It is of special value to statesmen, inasmuch as the course and policy of all prominent leading men are fully traced in its pages.

Published in monthly parts, each containing 112 octavo pages and two portraits.

Eight volumes already completed.

Price 60 cents per part.

\$5 00 per volume bound in cloth.

\$6 00 per volume bound in sheep.

\$6 50 per volume bound in half calf or half morocco.

D. VAN NOSTRAND, Publisher,  
192 BROADWAY.

## Literature.

## LITERARY NOTES.

THE sum raised by the friends of free enquiry and offered to Dr. Colenso to indemnify him, to some extent, for the loss that he sustains by publishing the results of his Biblical studies, has reached the handsome amount of £3,200. This is derived mostly from private friends, and it is expected will be largely increased by an appeal to the public. It was presented to him at a meeting in London, previous to his immediate return to Africa to resume his clerical functions. His metropolitan, the Bishop of Cape Town, who claimed the right of deposing Dr. Colenso for heresy, on applying to the Treasury for the reimbursal of the expenses incurred with that object, is less fortunate. He is politely told that a claim of this nature was entirely contrary to the policy of the Government, who were disposed to regard it as an illegal attempt to exercise a coercive jurisdiction, and must positively decline to release him from the consequences of his own acts. Those who are desirous to understand the exact position of the Church of England in relation to the controversies of the day, may see it well defined in a work published by Murray this spring, "The Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council, 1840-64," edited by Geo. C. Brodrick and Rev. W. H. Freeman, with a preface by the Bishop of London." Here will be found the proceedings of the final court of appeal on questions of doctrine, luminously arranged and illustrated.

—In one of the nooks and corners of England, at Chalfont St. Giles, a rural village in Buckinghamshire, there yet remains in its primitive state the cottage inhabited by Milton when he left London with his family in 1665, on account of the great plague then raging there. This cottage it is proposed to purchase, and maintain in some manner to be determined on, as a memorial of the poet and the great work that he brought to completion under its roof. There is better authority for this than for many other relics of greater fame and notoriety. We know from the narration of his friend Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, by whom this house was hired for Milton, that "Paradise Lost" was finished there, and a casual remark by that worthy man under its roof gave to its author the first idea of "Paradise Regained." So long ago as 1737, in an age not given to hero-worship, Pope, who had visited the neighborhood, sent, in a note to Richardson the painter, a copy of some verses said to have been written on a glass window in the village of Chalfont, and apparently at this very house. The lines have not appeared in Milton's works, and are as follows. They seem to us to have something of the Miltonic ring in the measure of the verse, though as the poet was blind at the time specified, they could not have been inscribed, even if written by him.

"Fair mirror of foul times whose fragile sheen  
Shall, as it blazeth, break: while Providence,  
Aye watching o'er his saints with eye unseen,  
Spreads the red roll of angry pestilence  
To sweep the wicked and their counsel hence;  
Yea, all to break the pride of lustful kings,  
Who heaven's lore reject for brutish sense,  
As erst he scourg'd Jeshides' sin of yore,  
For the fair Hittite, when on seraph's wings  
He sent him war, or plague, or famine sore."

It is said that the poem, by a lady of Philadelphia, beginning "Old am I, and blind," has already found its way into some American editions of Milton as a true utterance of the poet. It is more in favor of the authenticity of the lines above that they date at least from a time when imitative composition was certainly less common than at present.

—Goldwin Smith's small volume of "Lectures on the Study of History" is just reprinted at Oxford, after being for some time very scarce. It makes the seventh or eighth little *brochure*, in which shape only the writings of the professor can be found. It is worthy of remark, as one instance of intellectual difference between England and the United States, how much more the leading minds of the day in the former country have realized the ideal of an active, influential, and even potent use of the printing-press, than we have done here. To take, for instance, three or four prominent men, as Dr. Trench, Rev. F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Dean Stanley—these authors alone might actually club together and set up a publisher of their own, keeping him, indeed, very actively employed, at the rate of their writings for the past few years. With men of this stamp, the old-fashioned dignity of authorship seems properly forgotten. If an emergency calls for their opinion, it comes out at once in a pamphlet, a letter, or a sermon, "hitting the nail on the head," without any consideration of how it may figure among the writer's collected works in the next generation. It is this readiness to take the lead that distinguishes the true leaders of the age. The improved position of literary men as a class before the English public, and the general healthy tone of thought on political affairs, is undoubtedly due to the process by which the highest theoretical wisdom of the time is brought into immediate actual contact with the practical questions that interest the whole community. It is to be feared this real and mutual influence of the thinkers upon the workers, and *vice versa*, is rather diminishing than increasing amongst us. A lecture, an oration, or a letter to a newspaper is the usual mode of appeal to the public, often indirect and circuitous in its operation. Our booksellers' stores, which ought to be the "high change" of fresh and direct thought applied to questions of the day, are singularly barren of such material, and in a country where the amount of printing and paper consumed (including newspapers) is almost equal to that of the whole of the rest of the world, the press seems to have abdicated one of its most valuable and important functions.

—A gentleman of Manchester, John Harland, F.S.A., has done good service to popular poetry by collecting in an elegantly decorated and beautifully printed little volume the "Ballads and Songs of Lancashire older than the Nineteenth Century." This county, though now almost given up to manufactures, from its northern situation and rugged natural features, was for a long time behind the rest of the kingdom in cultivation and refinement. It consequently offers a favorable spot for the preservation of the untutored minstrelsy of the people, that flowed spontaneously in commemoration of any event—a murder, a battle, or a rebellion—that impressed itself vividly on the popular mind. The collection includes some curious specimens as early as the reign of Edward IV., and comes down to the present century. Though the English had undoubtedly the same stock of traditions to start with that formed the intellectual stock of their Teutonic brethren in the northern portion of their island and the mainland of Europe, it must be confessed that they never acquired the power over the imagination—the weird and gloomy grandeur and the touches of pathos—that has made the study of northern song the delight of poets and scholars ever since it became known beyond its native limits. English popular poetry flows along with a steady jog-trot pace, and shows great art in omitting or degrading to its own level the situations and sentiments that thrill us in the wilder muse of Scotland, Denmark, and Iceland. Still the gathering is a curious one, particularly from its connection with local history; and it is so well edited by Mr. Harland that it may be read with as much pleasure as the collections of Percy and Ritson.

—There is scarcely a current rumor to stir the lethargy which prevails among the publishers. It will probably continue during the present month. In the beginning of September the New York Trade Sales commence, when the presence of the country booksellers in the city necessarily conduces to general business. These semi-annual assemblages of buyers and sellers have never been regarded with perfect complacency by all the trade—the conservative members of the profession looking upon their influence as unfavorable to the stability of prices that a publisher loves to contemplate for his issues. Latterly, indeed, the peculiar features of the auction system have been almost ignored, as publishers have sold their books in any quantity they liked, and at a limit fixed by themselves, instead of by the purchasers. This fall there is an attempt to restore the original plan of sale of all the stock offered, without reserve, to the highest bidder among the company present. It is difficult to account for the inactivity of publishers, as abundance of money increases the number of purchasers, and no good book goes unappreciated.

—It is a question whether the reputation of M. Guizot would not have gained if that great scholar and statesman had reserved for posterity the commentaries on his ministerial character and the historical events of the latter years of Louis Philippe's reign, the last volume of which has just ap-

peared, and includes the period from 1841 to 1847. Though the rapid progress of the world causes the occurrences of this date to be regarded as belonging to another era, there is an unavoidable want of delicacy in discussing the character and conduct of living contemporaries that posthumous publications are free from, while it naturally affords more unrestrained opportunities for discussion. Every scholar or man of letters would joyfully resign M. Guizot's vindication of himself and the monarchy of July for the completion of his great but unfinished "History of Civilization in France." That the world of literature will ever receive this from his hands we fear there is no chance: the minister has absorbed the professor, and no reference is made in his later writings to the studies that constitute the true basis of his fame. Of course "France under Louis Philippe" must contain much of value to politicians and future historians. It includes the whole period of the Greek and Turkish troubles (when all M. Guizot's influence was scarcely able to maintain peace between France and England), the affair of the Otaheite Queen Pomare and Mr. Pritchard, the war with Morocco, etc. M. Guizot deals sparingly in anecdotes. One characteristic touch of Prince Metternich's portrait helps to paint the man. After the catastrophe of 1848 the prince and M. Guizot were together in London. "I said, one day, to the prince" (writes the latter), "permit me to ask a question. I know why and how the Revolution of February took place in Paris, but why and how it occurred in Vienna I am ignorant, and wish to learn from you." He replied, with a smile of melancholy pride, "I have sometimes governed Europe, but never Austria."

—We catch a few uncertain glimpses of an ever-welcome person—Charles Lamb—in Mr. Frederick Martin's sympathetic but rather affected "Life of John Clare," the Northamptonshire peasant-poet, who forty years ago was the literary phenomenon of the day. Clare's introduction to a metropolitan audience was through Mr. John Taylor, publisher of the "London Magazine," in which appeared the Essays of Elia and the early writings of Hood (the sub-editor), De Quincey, Allan Cunningham, Cary, Hazlitt, George Darley, and others of that brilliant coterie. Clare was introduced by Thomas Hood to Lamb, to whose house they went on a pilgrimage late one evening. "Elia" was in splendid good humor—comfortably ensconced in a large arm-chair, with a huge decanter at his right hand, and a huge bronze snuff-box, from which he continuously helped himself, on his left. Clare having been formally introduced, Charles Lamb took a whole handful of snuff, and, falling back in his arm-chair, stuttered out an atrocious pun about rural poets and hackney coaches. Seeing that his guest looked somewhat displeased, he took him under closer treatment, and with the help of the big decanter soon put him into excessive good humor. The conversation now became general, and Clare thought he had never met with such an agreeable companion as the great Elia. Till late at night the drinking and talking continued, until at last Lamb's sister came into the room, delivering an eloquent lecture upon the value of sobriety; when Clare looked serious. "Do-do-don't be offended, my boy," quoth Charles, "we all know the virtue of rustic swine, I me-me-an of a rustic swain," which saying, Elia pushed on his decanter. But it was too much for Clare. "I must go," he said, and go he did accordingly. At a subsequent editorial dinner given by Mr. Taylor, Clare remembered Elia's words, "I have been trying all my life to like Scotchmen, and am obliged to desist from the experiment in despair," caused by some disagreement with Allan Cunningham.

—The indications that a new poet has arisen are strong, and though many, like Lord Dudley in a similar case, would prefer to "wait and see if the thing would not blow over," the public voice is rapidly confirming the genial notice by George Henry Lewes in the "Fortnightly Review," wherein a high place among poets is claimed for Robert Buchanan, author of "Idyls and Legends of Inverburn." Mr. Buchanan has seen and sympathetically lived with the weavers and dominies of a Scottish village; he has tasted of their joys, and been shaken by their sorrows. Under his meditative observation have passed the humble tragedies of peasant life, the coarse grim humor of Scottish life, and he has wrought them into verse. He was the friend of David Gray, and the editor of his posthumous volume of poems. A more imaginative rendering of the sad and brief career of that youth of genius, too early quenched, is the subject of "Poet Andrew," the finest of the idyls. It is a psychological study of the growth and unfolding of the spirit of poesy in a frame too fragile to endure the battle of life that the cultivation of this precious endowment implied—showing skilfully the gradual awe and estrangement of the parents as the lad's higher aspirations and larger views of life unfolded themselves, all melting down into the old tenderness and hushed emotion when the young poet, on the very threshold of the attainment of his hopes, came home to die. "Willie Baird," the other poem, of equal value, is the story of a boy pupil lost in the snow, related in a tone of sweet, low pathos by the master of the boy that indicates a power of conforming the outward show of things to the inmost affections of the mind worthy of

a great master. Perhaps the most striking single poem by Mr. Buchanan is "A London Idyl," published in the same work that contains Mr. Lewes's kindly criticism. It is the story of a girl of the lowest order, who dies in giving birth to a child, related to the attendant clergyman. For singleness of purpose and completeness of the effect produced, it may be compared to Hood's "Bridge of Sighs." In speaking of poetry, we naturally turn to Messrs. Ticknor & Fields. No two books can well be more diverse than Swinburne's "Atalanta in Calydon" and Buchanan's "Idyls and Legends of Inverburn." Yet both are morally certain of an ardent welcome from lovers of poetry, and we hope to see neat Boston impressions of them both before the summer is over.

—The second volume of the "Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini" has just appeared. It comprises critical and literary papers, and will surprise many who have regarded the writer as a mere conspirator by trade. The difficulty of writing good English is known to be much greater for natives of Southern Europe of Latin origin than for those of kindred type in the north. They have, perhaps, never been surmounted with so much success as by Mazzini, whose English style is a model of clearness, gravity, and weighty expression. His late refutation of the theory of Caesarism is the noblest piece of writing that the subject has called forth, and should be republished in America.

—The highest living authority on mathematics and the kindred sciences, Sir J. F. W. Herschel, is responsible for the following calculation, which will give a new idea of the power of numbers and the powerlessness of the unaided mind to grasp the simple conception of them, without physical illustration:

"For the benefit of those who discuss the subject of population, war, pestilence, famine, etc., it may be as well to mention that the number of human beings living at the end of the hundredth generation, commencing from a single pair doubling at each generation (say in thirty years) and allowing for each man, woman, and child an average space of four feet in height and one foot square, would form a vertical column having for its base the whole surface of the earth and sea spread out into a plane, and for its height 3,674 times the sun's distance from the earth. The number of human strata thus piled one on the other would amount to 460,790,000,000,000."

It occurs in a dialogue "On Atoms," in No. 1 of the "Fortnightly Review."

—The foreign papers abound with notices of the great preparations of various kinds making for Louis Napoleon's Life of Cesar, to assist him in his narration of the Roman emperor's campaigns in Gaul and Hispania, by all the lights that archaeological and military science can throw upon the scenes of action where barbarian valor succumbed to the superior force of Roman discipline. We do not know how the case may be in France, where it may possibly be the duty of some Government functionary to "bull the market" for the imperial writings, but in England the book is commercially dead and past resuscitation, whatever may be the merits of the forthcoming volumes. Booksellers themselves were carried away by the artfully prepared preliminary notices of the press, and have generally become encumbered with a heavy stock of a book that the public will not help them off with. We believe this is partly the case here, and that there are not likely to be so many rival editions of Volume II. as there were brought out of Volume I. The hybrid portrait of a composite emperor, combining the physical features of Napoleon and Julius Cesar, attracted some attention as a clever artistic "tour de force," but when Louis Napoleon conceived it he can scarcely have recollected the injustice he was doing to the lineaments of his uncle. There is a remarkable testimony to the heroic character of Napoleon's head from an unimpeachable witness, C. R. Leslie, the painter. Speaking of Dr. Antommarchi's cast from the face of Napoleon, he says: "It is more handsome than any bust or portrait of him, and indeed has the look of a much younger man than he appears in the latest portrait. This is easily accounted for. Illness had reduced the superabundant fleshiness of the lower part of his face and brought it back to the condition of an early period, and death, by leaving the mouth slightly open, had destroyed that expression of selfish determination which the thin compressed lips give to every portrait of Napoleon. The profile of the cast is the most perfectly beautiful profile of a man I ever saw, the faint smile caused by the last slight convulsion after all consciousness had ceased adding the beauty of death to a face originally of very fine proportions."

—The new work by Dr. John W. Draper, shortly to be issued by Messrs. Harper, is entitled "Thoughts on American Civil Polity." Dr. Draper's previous book, "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," showed how extensive had been the range of his researches in the past history of the race. It is not surprising therefore that in his forthcoming book he draws illustrations of the future of America from a wide induction, which takes cognizance of the varying conditions of man on the globe as influenced



by the operation of physical agents. Contrasting the present stagnation of Asiatic life with its former activity, he remarks in a passage, the interest of which will excuse its length:

"We forget how many contributions to our own comforts are of Oriental origin. Their commonness hides them from our view. If the European wishes to know how much he owes to the Asiatic, he has only to cast a glance at an hour of his daily life. The clock which summons him from his bed in the morning was the invention of the East, as also were clepsydras and sun-dials. The prayer for his daily bread, that he has said from his infancy, first rose from the side of a Syrian mountain. The linens and cottons with which he clothes himself, though they may be very fine, are inferior to those that have been made from time immemorial in the looms of India. The silk was stolen for his benefit from China. He could buy better steel than that with which he shaves himself in the old city of Damascus, where it was first invented. The coffee he expects at breakfast was first grown by the Arabians, and the natives of Upper India prepared the sugar with which he sweetens it. A school-boy can tell the meaning of the Sanscrit words 'sacchara canda.' If he prefers tea, the virtues of that excellent leaf were first pointed out by the industrious Chinese. They also taught him how to make and use the cup and saucer in which to serve it. His breakfast tray was lacquered in Japan. The egg he is breaking was laid by a fowl whose ancestors were first domesticated by the Malaccans, unless she may have been—though that will not alter the case—a modern Shanghai. If there are preserves and fruits on his board, let him remember with thankfulness that Persia first gave him the cherry, the peach, the plum. If in any of these pleasant preparations he detects the flavor of alcohol, let it remind him that that substance was first distilled by the Arabians. A thousand years before it had occurred to him to enact laws of restriction in the use of intoxicating drinks, the Prophet of Mecca did the same thing, and has compelled to this day millions to obey them. We gratify our taste for personal ornaments in the way the Orientals have taught us—with pearls, rubies, sapphires, diamonds. Of public amusements it is the same. The most magnificent fireworks are still to be seen in India and China; and as regards the pastimes of private life, Europe has produced no invention that can rival the game of chess. We have no hydraulic constructions as great as the Chinese Canal, no fortifications as extensive as the Chinese Wall; we have no artesian wells that can at all approach in depth some of theirs. We have not yet resorted to the practice of obtaining coal gas from the interior of the earth; they have borings for that purpose more than 3,000 feet deep."

#### DE TOCQUEVILLE IN THE UNITED STATES.\*

We have received the eighth volume of the "complete works" of Alexis de Tocqueville, edited by his lifelong friend, Gustave de Beaumont. The contents of the first six volumes, of which three contain his "Democracy in America," the fourth his "Ancient Régime and the Revolution," and the fifth and sixth his "Remains and Letters," besides a sketch of his life by the editor, have been presented in more or less valuable translations to the reading, or rather thinking, public in this country. The seventh contains a new collection of "Letters." The miscellaneous contents of the volume just issued, which will be followed by but one more, embracing his academic and similar elaborations, can be divided into two parts, one consisting of "Historical Fragments and Notes on the Ancient Régime, the Revolution, and the Empire," given for the first time to the public in the unfinished shape in which the premature death of the author has left them; and the other of "Notes of Travel," put down for the writer's own use during his journeys in America (1831-2), England (1833 and 1835), Ireland (1835), Germany (1836), and Algeria (1841).

It is needless to say that whatever De Tocqueville wrote and Gustave de Beaumont publishes, even when devoid of those peculiar charms of diction and finish which the pen of the former so richly bestowed upon his elaborate writings, fully deserves the attention of the friends of serious literature. It is true his finished pages offer us a variety of literary amenities, but, after all, it is the ripe fruits of his studies, observations, and reflections, and not the blossoms, however beautiful, in which he carefully wraps them, which we look for in all his productions. Besides, De Tocqueville seems to have studied but choice literature; his observations were all made with the eye of a writer, and even the germ of his thought is always presented to us in the garb of exquisite expression. To Americans, whom he, more than any other man, helped to understand the philosophy of their own political institutions and social phenomena, the first recorded remarks of the keen-eyed traveller in this country, entirely private and free of reserve and coloring, as they sprang forth from his brain, have the additional value of affording them an opportunity of appreciating the degree of candor, impartiality, and philosophical independence which he applied to the performance of his task. The glimpses we are thus permitted to catch of his mental laboratory will, in a measure, also enable us to judge how much of the obtained results was the product of convictions long cherished, how much of reflections suggested or ripened by vivid impressions, and how much of careful investigation and enquiry.

\* "Œuvres complètes d'Alexis de Tocqueville." VIII. ["Complete Works of Alexis de Tocqueville." Vol. VIII.] Paris, 1865.

For these reasons we select the American "Notes" as the subject of our first notice of the volume before us, reserving some of the "Historical Fragments" for a future article. Unfortunately the traveller wrote or left but few notes, and of these some are little more than commemorative pencil-marks. However, they will allow us to follow him through some parts of his immortal tour.

On the 10th of May, 1831, De Tocqueville arrived in the United States, landing at New York. His first note written in that city bears the date of May 20. He was struck with the immensity of the view before him, but this did not fill him with enthusiasm, because he had to ascribe more of what he saw to the nature of things than to the will of man. He found something febrile in the movements of industry as well as of the human mind; however, that fever seemed to him to increase force without troubling reason. What remained to be done seemed to expand in proportion to what had been done. He compared the twenty thousand population of New York at the outbreak of the war of the Revolution with the two hundred thousand before him, to which every year added immense development. He understood the wilderness of the Mississippi was becoming peopled still more rapidly. The material movements appeared of incredible magnitude, the political but superficial; society marching alone, and the art of government in its infancy.

During an excursion to Sing Sing, he compared the essential characteristics of the ancient republics with those of the American. The principle of the former was the sacrifice of individual interest to that of the whole; the principle of the latter, he believed, to make individual interest enter into the general. A kind of refined and enlightened self-love seemed to be the pivot of the whole modern machinery. People did not trouble themselves to learn whether public virtue was good, they sought to prove that it was useful. The question for them was, How far can individual and general good be united and melted into one? To what point will a conscience derived, so to speak, from reflection and calculation be able to bear down political passions which will certainly arise? The future alone could give an answer.

A few days later he notes down the substance of a conversation with Mr. Gallatin, ex-ambassador of the United States to France and England, and American lawyers, magistrates, and women. In this, as well as other colloquies, De Tocqueville appears only as a respectful interrogator and attentive enquirer, bent on eliciting information from native knowledge and experience, and entirely free of the vanity of displaying his own.

His first attempt at sketching to himself the American character contains these lines:

"There are as yet no American habits. Every one takes from the association that which suits him and remains in his originality. Why should it not be so? Here the laws vary incessantly; magistracies succeed each other; the systems of administration vary; nature itself changes more rapidly than man. By a singular inversion of the order of things, nature seems to be moving and man immovable."

"The same man may have given his name to a wilderness which nobody ever traversed before him; may have felled the first tree of the forest, raised in that solitude a planter's house, round which first a hamlet grouped itself, and finally a vast city has grown up. In the short space which separates death from birth he has witnessed all these changes. In his youth he lived among nations that are no more; in his lifetime rivers have changed or diminished their course; the climate itself is different from what he knew it to be in former days; and all this is in his thought but the first step of a boundless career. However powerful and impetuous the current of time may be, fancy outstrips it here; the scene is not wide enough for it; it already grasps after another universe. An intellectual movement goes on here comparable only to that which, three hundred years ago, produced the discovery of the New World. It is erroneous to believe that such thoughts can arise only in the head of the philosopher; they strike alike the mechanic and the thinker, the inhabitant of the country as well as of the city. They become embodied in all objects; they form a part of every sensation; they are palpable, visible, felt in one way or other. Born under a different sky, placed in the midst of a constantly moving scene, pushed onward by the irresistible current which carries off all that surrounds him, the American finds no time to fix himself by any kind of attachment; he becomes accustomed only to change, and eventually regards it as the natural condition of man; more than that, he loves it; for instability, instead of presenting itself to him in disasters, seems to engender around him but prodigies."

Travelling along the upper course of the Hudson, and through the valley of the Mohawk, De Tocqueville looked in vain for traces of the aborigines; he sighed after "the Mohawks, the most ancient and bravest of the tribes of the Iroquois Confederation;" he thought with melancholy of the melting away of the Indian races "by their contact with civilization, as the snow melts under the rays of the sun." At Utica he wrote:

"Every ten years or thereabouts the Indian tribes which have been pressed back into the wilds of the West perceive that they have gained nothing by falling back, the white race advancing still more rapidly than they retreat. Irritated by the feeling of their powerlessness, or inflamed by some new offence, they assemble and impetuously dash into the regions they

formerly occupied, and in which now rise the habitations of Europeans. The Indians traverse the country, burn the dwellings, slay the herds, and carry off some scalps. Civilization then falls back, but like the wave of the sea in its tide. The United States take the part of the least of their settlers, and declare that those wretched little tribes have violated the law of nations. A regular army is sent against them, and not only is the American territory reconquered, but the whites, driving the savages before them, destroy their wigwams, seize their herds, and fix the extreme limit of their own possessions a hundred leagues further than ever before. Thus deprived of their new adopted land by what schooled and enlightened Europe chooses to call the right of war, the Indians resume their march westward, until they halt in some new solitude, where, too, the white man's axe will soon be heard."

He was not insensible to the benefits accruing to mankind from this fated vanishing of the Indian race, but it was with a mixed feeling that he observed smiling villages and towns springing up on their bloody track, and followed the pioneer marching in the van of the immense European family through the conquered primeval forest, where he builds his rustic cabin, and only waits for another war to open to him a road towards new wilds.

At Oneida Castle he saw the first Indians. They were begging. Shortly after his return from a trip through Oneida Lake, a narrative of which is given in the fifth volume of the "Works," we find De Tocqueville at Canandaigua, engaged in a conversation with John C. Spencer, subsequently the author of an abridgment of the "Democracy," whose philosophic views on various important constitutional topics, as expressed in his lucid answers to the traveller's queries, fully agree with, if they have not originated, the conclusions arrived at by the latter in his analysis of American institutions. As a striking instance, we cite the following queries and answers:

"Q. What is the influence of the press on public opinion?"

"A. Its influence is great, but it is not exercised in the same way as in France. We attach but very little value to the opinions of journalists. The press only obtains influence by the facts it communicates, and by the turn it gives them. In this way it sometimes succeeds in misleading opinion in regard to a public man, or to the character of a measure. The press, it is certain, will be found a formidable instrument in every country and under all forms of government."

"Q. Which, according to your opinion, is the best means of diminishing the power of the periodical press?"

"A. I am perfectly convinced that the most effective of all is to have the number of journals multiplied as much as possible, and to prosecute them but in extreme cases. Their force diminishes in proportion to their number. Experience has made this manifest to us. I hear that in France there are only two or three great journals of credit. I think in such a case the press must become a very dangerous agent."

De Tocqueville for several days continued his instructive intercourse with Mr. Spencer. Among other things communicated to him by the latter, he recorded the following anecdote of Red Jacket, one of those men "whose superior intelligence foresees the fatal destiny of their race, and whose savage energy yet struggles against that fatality; . . . one of those men whom we might call the last of the Indians." In his capacity of District Attorney, Mr. Spencer once conducted a prosecution against an Indian, of the neighborhood of Buffalo, accused of having murdered an American. Red Jacket, with the aid of an interpreter, pleaded the cause of the accused, who was acquitted. When the trial was over, he approached his antagonist, and with apparent simplicity said: "No doubt my brother, on some remote day, inflicted on you a great injury?" Mr. Spencer answered that he had never heard of him before. "I understand," replied Red Jacket; "the white man who was killed was your brother, and you wanted to avenge him." Mr. Spencer tried to explain away his error by making him understand the nature of an attorney's functions. The Indian, having listened with attention, asked him whether he was paid by the elders of his people for doing what he had just explained, and, on receiving an affirmative answer, indignantly exclaimed: "So! not only did you try to kill my brother, who has never wronged you, but you sold his blood in advance!"

In the latter part of July, De Tocqueville made that great excursion from Detroit through lakes and primeval forests which he described in his charming "Fortnight in the Wilderness," given in the fifth volume of his "Works." He immediately after embarked on board the steamer *Superior*, the first which penetrated on the great lakes as far as Green Bay. He ascended Detroit River; traversed Lake St. Clair; saw on the shore of St. Huron a group of entirely savage Indians dancing the war-dance, fine men but gesticulating like devils; cast anchor at the extremity of the latter lake amid Indians all astonished at the sight of the steamer, and on the morning of Aug. 6 reached Sault Ste. Marie.

"A charming site. Admirable weather. Ste. Marie: a palisaded square, with a mast in the centre bearing the American flag; further on, two points of land covered with fine trees, by which the river is narrowed; under the trees, wigwams. Between the points, the rapids. Still further, mountains and interminable forests. At our arrival, the entire population on the banks or on the roofs of the houses. A vessel like ours is seen there only once in

a year. Strange character of that population. Mixture of all kinds of blood. The most numerous, the Canadian French."

An Indian canoe carried our traveller to Lake Superior, on the shores of which he visited Pointe aux Chênes and a camp of Indian traders, everywhere studying the character of the aborigines. They were described to him as kind and hospitable in peace, but wild beasts in war. He rejoiced to hear his native tongue spoken in that remote wilderness by Canadians, and learned with pleasure that the Indians of those regions had a predilection for it while disliking the English. He returned to the steamer, descending the Rapids, between rocks, with the swiftness of an arrow, and admiring the extraordinary skill of the Canadian boatmen.

On board the *Superior* he conversed with an eloquent and devoted Catholic priest, Mr. Mullan, who told him his opinions concerning religious freedom, the true condition, as he was convinced, of the advancement of religion; the position of the Catholics in the United States, whom he represented as more fervent in their faith and more successful in spreading it than those of any other part of the world, owing to the total separation, in this country, of the church from the state, and in spite of the hatred of Catholicism which all other denominations united in cherishing; the merits of the ancient Jesuits in converting and civilizing the Indians; and the character of these savage people, of whose laconic eloquence, ferocity in war, and attachment to Christianity, when converted to it, he spoke in very strong terms.

The notes written at Michillimackinac and Green Bay are all devoted to observations on the Indians. After his return to Detroit, De Tocqueville saw the Falls of the Niagara, on which he is silent, and made a tour through Canada, the notes on which, though copious and highly interesting, we pass over without remark or quotation, as transcending the sphere of our article. But we cannot refrain from extracting several remarks from his "Reflections on the Causes which make it difficult for the French to have Good Colonies," suggested by a comparison of colonial developments north and south of the St. Lawrence. The principal difficulties, the writer thinks, lie in the national character, political customs, and laws of the French. In the French character a deep-rooted attachment to his native home and an ardent inclination for adventures are strangely mixed together—two things equally detrimental to colonization. The Frenchman fondly clings to his domestic hearth, but, when torn from it by accident, is most apt to become passionately fond of the hazardous course of savage life. It is exceedingly difficult to persuade the poor but honest countryman of France to seek a fortune beyond its frontiers. But if you succeed in bringing him to a foreign shore, you can hardly settle him there. He is not animated by that ardent and obstinate desire of making a fortune which so constantly stimulates the Englishman, and makes him exert all his faculties toward one aim. The Frenchman is satisfied with little; his progress is slow; he is continually attracted by the charms of a lazy and vagabond life. This original obstacle is aggravated by the influences of political training. For centuries the government has tried to direct everything in France. To-day it not only governs, but administers all affairs in all parts of the country. It has carried its principles of centralization even beyond the seas. Be it from want of confidence in its tools, jealousy of power, or force of habit, it has made prodigious efforts to be at the head of a colony what it is at the centre of the state. It has tried to judge things unknown; to arrange conditions entirely foreign; to obviate wants beyond its conception; to foresee everything; to examine, direct, control, and do everything. The French colonist, on his part, is excellently trained for such tutelage, and is just as eager to refer everything to his protector as the latter is to guide him. He relies not on his own efforts; he has little taste for independence; he must be compelled to be free.

"The history of the last centuries offers us, we must confess it, a singular spectacle."

"We see France undertaking a vast system of colonies. The plans are ably conceived, the places well selected. The task was to unite, by an uninterrupted chain of settlements, the St. Lawrence with the Mississippi, and thus to found in the centre of North America a new French empire, of which Canada and Louisiana were to be the two outlets."

"Great sacrifices in men are made, immense sums and pains are expended, to attain that end. The government is incessantly occupied with the affairs of these new establishments, and forgets not for a moment the duty of guiding them. And still, in spite of all its efforts, the colonies languish. The land opens in vain before the steps of the French; they advance not into the fertile wilds which surround them; the population increases imperceptibly. Ignorance seems to spread. The new society remains stationary, acquiring neither force nor wealth. It finally succumbs, after an heroic struggle, to foreign aggression."

"Near by, on the shores of the ocean, English settlers establish themselves. The others have been sent by the mother country; these have rather escaped from the bosom of theirs. As soon as they have set their foot on American soil, you would say, they have become strangers in England, so little mindful seems that country of governing them. From the start they have their political assemblies and their tribunals; they ap-



point most of their magistrates, organize their militia, care for all their wants, form their police, and frame their laws. The mother country has almost nothing to do with their internal affairs. Its only intervention consists in protecting their commerce and defending them against foreign assaults.

"And yet these settlements, thus abandoned to themselves, which cost their mother country neither money, nor care, nor efforts, double their population every twenty-two years, and become centres of riches and culture."

Returning from Canada in September, De Tocqueville again travelled through parts of New York, and then through New England. He was very favorably impressed by the appearance of the latter, as well as of Boston society, the higher strata of which he found resembling almost completely those of Europe. Where he moved, he noticed refinement and taste, literary culture and distinguished manners. The ladies spoke French; the gentlemen had been in Europe. Fine literary collections were not wanting. A religious interest seemed to prevail. His conversations with prominent men embraced the highest topics of politico-philosophical enquiry. With Senator Gray, "a man of great talent," he conversed on municipal self-rule and the influence of institutions and habits; with John Quincy Adams, with whom he dined at Everett's, and who spoke French "with facility and elegance," on national conventions, the American character, in general and sectional characteristics, slavery and the dangers threatening the Union; with Sparks on the division of lands, laws of inheritance, and emigration to the West; with Channing, "the most remarkable living American writer on grave topics," on religion in France and in the United States, Protestantism, Unitarianism, and natural religion.

He returned to New York meditating on the advantages and much greater disadvantages of a strict division of labor, as chiefly illustrated by the progress of industry and the wretched condition of the laboring classes in England. In the almost total absence of a division of labor he found the cause of the great intelligence and general capacity of working-men in America. Little is done very well, but everybody does a little of everything. Hence, also, a superiority in the common affairs of life and the government of society.

Philadelphia offered him an opportunity of studying the character of the Quakers, "the only religious sect which has always practised toleration and Christian charity in its full extent." In a note written in that city he speaks of the superiority of the spirit and manner of a people over its laws in shaping its conditions. Still the laws have their part in forming the character of a people. The "great problem" is to know in what proportion.

In Baltimore we find him enquiring after the distinctive features of the Southern character, the "spirit of chivalry," and the workings of slavery. He there visited Charles Carroll, the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, then ninety-five years of age, and the richest land-owner in America. He found him amiable, well educated, proud of his Revolutionary remembrances, and in everything resembling the European nobleman, even in his political opinions. But this race, De Tocqueville noticed, was vanishing in America, after having given it its greatest men. The tradition of higher manners vanished with it. The people became enlightened, knowledge extended, and a mediocre capacity common. Eminent talents, great characters, were rarer. Society was less brilliant and more prosperous. It was a natural effect of the march of civilization.

Returning to Philadelphia, he conversed with Mr. Biddle on the United States Bank, the great topic of the day. He then traversed Pennsylvania, embarked in Pittsburg on board the steamer *Ohio*, and descended the river of the same name to Louisville, visiting Cincinnati, where he conversed with Judge McLean, of the Supreme Court. Having set out on a fatiguing journey through Tennessee, he fell sick at Sandy Bridge, and reached Memphis only at the close of 1831. His notes now become more and more scanty. New Orleans, Alabama, and Norfolk are the only geographical names marked before reaching Washington, which closes the tour. His last remarks, dated January 30, 1832, refer to "the great men of the first times of the republic, their enlightenment, true patriotism, and high character," and, first of all, to Washington. "*Les dieux s'en vont.*"

#### MISS COBBE ON RELIGIOUS DUTY.\*

"A MAN'S own virtue," says Miss Cobbe, "is the end of his creation;" and the scope of her book accordingly is to exhibit religion as an outgrowth of the moral rather than the spiritual nature of man. Miss Cobbe is full of earnestness, has always a meaning of her own whether right or wrong, and a bluff English directness of speech which disdains the alluring graces of rhetoric. We have a real respect for her conscious intellectual sincerity; but we have none the less decided a conviction that she *overdoes*; that her man-

ner is grave and earnest beyond the requirements of her matter; that her style, in short, is a great deal louder than the strict merits of her thought—estimated at least by its relation to the religious history of the race—at all entitle it to be.

Nothing can be more transparent than Miss Cobbe's philosophy. It is that whatsoever appears is; that the actual or phenomenal is a direct and every way competent measure of the real or absolute; in short, that nature and man, or flesh and spirit, cohere not by inversion or correspondence, as effect and cause, body and soul, cohere; but directly, or by continuity, as greater and less, or beginning and end, cohere. Her idea of religion consequently is very simple. It is that religion was designed to house and nourish the moral or voluntary life of man—that to which he himself is completely competent—rather than his spiritual or spontaneous one, to which he himself is profoundly incompetent; that it was intended to soften and modify his native instincts into a more or less real conformity with the Divine nature, rather than to endow him with a *new* nature exquisitely alien though still tenderly indulgent to the old one, whatever that may have conventionally been. Thus her notion of religious duty, that of worship for example, is that it is of the nature of a debt incurred for benefits received, and can no more go unpaid without serious though limited damage to the debtor, because the creditor happens to be infinite, than it can without such detriment when the creditor happens to be finite. We are "bound to worship because it is *right* that such a being as man should worship such a being as God. It is as much a part of eternal *justice* that the rational recipient of unnumbered benefits should return gratitude to his benefactor, as it is a part of justice that a murderer should be punished." (Pages 13, 14.) Can anything be more plain? Is it not indeed revoltingly plain? Did ever any one before place our obligation to worship God on the same ground of self-defence, or self-protection, as that exacted by the obligation to punish murderers?

Religion, then, according to Miss Cobbe's showing, is much more an affair of the head than the heart; and religious worship much more a prompting of duty than of delight. "Religion," says Miss Cobbe, "is identified with sound morality;" and God is "necessarily a perfect moral being," who, "in making us rational creatures, has implicitly rested his title to our allegiance on his own moral perfection, for to such perfection alone is it lawful for such creatures to bow." (Pages 2, 3.) We repeat that Miss Cobbe's meaning is plain, vastly too plain. For how shall any one who honors, however feebly, the living form of religion, endure to hear it christened a purely "rational" or calculated commerce of man with God? How shall any one who knows the faintest breath of living *worship* endure to hear it defined as a moral or voluntary homage of the soul to God imposed by a sense of benefits received, and not as a wholly spontaneous or involuntary one, based upon no sense of "benefits received" or to be received, but solely upon the sense of a worth in its object so immaculate, so immeasurable and overwhelming as to baffle reason, and leave the soul no voice nor choice but praise.

So it is, however; Miss Cobbe takes religion back to the days of the patriarchs, or runs it into a mere legal covenant between God and the worshipper, conditioned upon the reciprocal worthiness of the parties to it; and the whole strain of her book consequently goes to exhaust the relations of the soul to God of all hidden or mystic depth, of all tender spiritual sanctity and awe, by making them strictly moral or personal relations—such as two mutually independent but mutually courteous persons sustain to each other. Far be it from us, however, to hint that Miss Cobbe's gospel, however Edenic it be in point of theology, is at all inappropriate in point of time. If anything is clear in our mental tendencies, it is that men are getting weary to death of that tyrannous conscience of disunion between them and God which has been bred of their past moral disorder, and aspiring with one heart and mind to a regenerate social condition of the earth, in which every man shall be *born* into harmony with the Providence that governs it, and so unlearn all actual evil. In this new Eden, this beautiful state of human nature, it will be perfectly safe and salutary to make religion the eminently just and decorous thing Miss Cobbe would have it to be. In that condition, no longer of faith but of knowledge, when the Divine bounty shall have drowned the very senses with wonder and reverence, it will be as discreditable to a man not to join in public adoration or worship, as it is now discreditable not to pay his debts. Clearly, religion will then be the superb letter or ritual which Miss Cobbe desires to make it; and every one will feel religious worship to be a debt, the payment of which is guaranteed by his very senses. We hint no word of discouragement to all this jubilant hope, and say Amen, *ab imo corde*. But we must make just one observation to our very clever friend, the force of which, we hope, will one day be apparent to her, and that is—that in every debtor and creditor relation there ought to be some provision made for bankruptcy; and her scheme of religion, as such a relation, leaves this contingency wholly unprovided for.

\* "Religious Duty. By Frances Power Cobbe." Boston: W. V. Spencer, 1865.



Without doubt, the observation seems just now wholly unnecessary to Miss Cobbe; but she may be very sure that she is never going to supersede even Moses as a religious legislator, until she supply this want or devise some lustration which shall purge the *guilty* conscience rather than ratify the righteous one. She may rely upon it that while man remains man and God remains God, the courts of heaven are essentially bankruptcy courts, and that no one soever, therefore, will be able to pass them save as a bankrupt, though his schedule should prove him to have paid a hundred cents to the dollar of every debt he owed. In the best conceivable moral condition of the world to which she ever finds herself aspiring, she will encounter a vast deal of this secret spiritual bankruptcy. Even in what she would regard the world's millennium, so far as morality is concerned, there will always be men who abhor religion as a ritual, because they feel it to be an inevitable ministry of death, not of life; men who regard "their own virtue" as something very puerile and ludicrous, when it is not atrocious; who smile with inward scorn, or rather turn pale with dread, at the idea of paying the great God his dues—since this would involve the surrender of their vital breath at every moment; men, in short, who have an infinite horror of inviting God's personal complacency to them at any time, and would much prefer to be for ever forgotten by him, if only his knowledge might so survive with them. We assure Miss Cobbe that these sceptics as to the integrity of the popular devotion will always exist; that they will even abound, perhaps, in that flowing land of Cockaigne to which we are hastening—these doubters, these recreants to the sunshine, these reckless contemnors of "their own virtue"—and we ask Miss Cobbe what is to become of such people unless she provide a good bankruptcy law? We, ourselves, feel a sneaking regard for these castaways, who can have no religion "to speak of," who will be obviously faithless to it in every aspect under which Miss Cobbe sees fit to commend it; who will have no more sense of it as an obligation or debt enforced upon their observance by rational sanctions than any unmitigated Pottowattamie Indian has; and we insist upon Miss Cobbe taking some thought betimes about them.

Thus we have no criticism, but only commendation, to bestow upon Miss Cobbe, within her own intellectual limits. We only find these limits very intolerable to ourselves.

### THE SANITARY CONDITION OF NEW YORK.\*

If there is one thing more than another in regard to which the people of New York appear to be utterly indifferent, that thing is the sanitary condition of the great city in which they live, and die too, at a greater rate than the inhabitants of any other large city in Christendom. Without efficient hygienic regulations, with a thorough disregard of the imperfect system which exists, with the most shameful neglect and criminality in all matters which relate to the health of the population committed to their care, the authorities are allowed year after year to pursue a course which is hurrying thousands upon thousands to untimely graves. The wealthy, the educated, the respectable, in whom the real power resides to right these wrongs against the society to which they belong, are content to look out from the windows of their well-arranged high-stoop or English-basement houses, and to thank God that the street is clean, that the garbage is removed, and that there is no probability that the typhoid fever or small-pox, which exists in the tenement houses in the rear, will infect their own luxuriously equipped dwellings. Attention has again and again been called to the deplorable and wicked recklessness of those having the immediate charge of the sanitary condition of the city, and innumerable efforts have been made to rouse the people themselves from the apathy they have constantly evinced in regard to their own hygienic welfare. It has all been in vain. With a degree of composure and stolid unconcern which have either proceeded from the grossest ignorance or the most thorough indifference, they have turned a deaf ear to the arguments and the entreaties which have been made, and New York to-day is the filthiest and the most unhealthy city to be found within the limits of the civilized world.

In the work before us we have the record of the best organized and most scientific effort which has ever been made to awaken the people of New York to a sense of the great dangers to which they are constantly exposed. If the Citizens' Association had never done another act to entitle it to the thanks of all well-wishers of humanity, it certainly deserves them for the courage, the persistency, and the completeness with which it has conceived and carried out the great undertaking, the results of which are now published. Bearing in mind, however, the failure of all former endeavors in

the same direction, and marking the feeble response which has been made to the appeals of individuals and of the press for years past, we have no very sanguine expectations that any decided effect will come from this last and best attempt. The public taste for horrors requires something more *piquant* than the statement that many poor wretches in this Christian city live habitually under the level of the street in spaces of less area than a moderate sized grave. Such dens of everything that is vile and filthy as the "Gotham Rookery," the "Great Eastern," or the numerous "fever nests" of Washington and Park Streets, in which one-fourth of the population is constantly sick, and one in twenty die every year, do not excite sufficiently startling thoughts in the brain of the staid and even-minded citizen.

The report of the Council of Hygiene (composed, we believe, entirely of physicians) is a clearly written, outspoken document, the author of which may well congratulate himself on the valuable matter he has presented to the public, and on the forcible way in which he states his opinions. If his labors have not met with the full attention they deserve, he should not be discouraged. Time, which it is said works wonders, may bring his fellow-citizens to a full recognition of the magnitude and value of his exertions in their behalf, and in the meantime action may possibly be quickened by the cholera epidemic, which slowly, but surely, is travelling towards our shores. The same language may be used in regard to the indefatigable and competent medical inspectors whose reports make up the body of the volume. Probably not a hundred persons, exclusive of the active members of the Citizens' Association, have read the sensible and fearless remarks they have made, or cared even to make themselves superficially acquainted with the important information they have collected. Reformers in this world have a hard time of it. They are certain while they live to make more enemies than friends, and it is only after they are dead that mankind begins to appreciate them. Beyond this hope of posthumous reputation, and the approval of their own consciences, we are afraid the gentlemen who have devoted their time and energies to the cause of sanitary reformation in New York have very slim prospects of due appreciation.

But although the reports contained in the book under consideration are valuable, and present a horrible but doubtless truthful picture of the worst phases of social life in the great metropolis, there is an absence of those deductions which can only be made as the result of difficult but unerring scientific investigations. We have no analysis of the air of the tenement houses, or even of that of the city, such as Ramon di Lama has made of the atmosphere of Madrid. It may be said that the nasal organ is capable of telling whether or not the air of a locality is healthy. Such, however, is by no means invariably the case, as some of the most disgusting odors are not only not prejudicial to health, but are, on the contrary, favorable to it. The microscope, by means of which the most interesting and important details might have been obtained relative to the morphological constituents of the atmosphere, does not appear to have been employed at all. As we know that many diseases spread by the actual contact of microscopic organisms floating in the air, we regret that this valuable instrument was not brought into requisition. Neither have we any analysis of the water, except in one instance, or of the milk, or the other articles of food upon which the poorer classes of our population live.

But if the object of the Citizens' Association was simply to act upon the public mind in the shortest and most forcible way, the plan adopted will accomplish the end if it is possible to bring it about at all. It must be recollected, however, that it is from the scientific data which are only obtainable by cold and dispassionate and intelligent research, that well-directed and effectual means can be devised for improving our sanitary condition. We have scarcely glanced at these, but there are doubtless gentlemen within the reach of the Citizens' Association who are perfectly competent to collect them. And now that this organization has so thoroughly done its duty in seeking to awaken attention to the deplorable state of our hygienic arrangements, may we not hope that it will attempt to clinch all its conclusions by the unanswerable and unerring statements which science can enable it to make? In the meantime, we feel that we cannot sufficiently express our high sense of its labors; and in the hope of adding our mite to the good cause, we advise all our people who value their own lives and those of their fellow-citizens to get the book we have mentioned, and to do their part towards remedying the evils which are there so graphically described.

### THE STORY OF THE GREAT MARCH.\*

THE events of the recent civil war are still quite too near us to justify any attempt at grasping them as a whole. Of course, we shall have scores

\* "Report of the Council of Hygiene and Public Health of the Citizens' Association of New York upon the Sanitary Condition of the City." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1865. pp. 360.

\* "The Story of the Great March. From the Diary of a Staff Officer. By Brevet-Major Savage Ward Nichols, Aid-de-Camp to General Sherman. With a Map and Illustrations." New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1865.

of books after the wisdom of our generation, and they may occasionally be the product of genius. Mr. Kinglake's "Invasion of the Crimea" is certainly an indisputable proof that current history can be written in current time. But there is a grand dramatic aspect of the rebellion which requires distance for its proper unfolding. We may, indeed, even now hastily glance over the broad stage, assemble the *dramatis personæ*, and roughly sketch the acts, conforming them numerically to the Shakesperian model. Yet our classification and division must be essentially imperfect, unless, perhaps, we except the denouement, which was so rapid, and exhibits such condensation and completeness as to admit of no serious errors. It was in these final scenes that General Sherman played so conspicuous a part, and his mysterious and tortuous march through the hitherto unpenetrated districts of the Confederacy will always fill a conspicuous place in history, both for the startling picturesqueness of the movement and for its splendid results. It is to set forth the story of this great march which is the object of the author of the book whose title we give below.

Major Nichols was relieved from detached service in the West during the summer of 1864, and was ordered to report to the general commanding the Military Division of the Mississippi. He found Sherman at Atlanta, was at once placed upon his staff, and, according to his own story, possessed much of that general's confidence from the start. His position gave him an excellent opportunity for observation, and it is only fair to suppose that he faithfully improved it. The volume which he now presents to the public is compiled from notes taken on the spot, and has, therefore, freshness, raciness, and vigor. There is included in it an appendix containing the official reports of the campaigns of Georgia and the Carolinas, the letters pertaining to the famous conference, Sherman's testimony before the Committee on the War, and much other matter necessary for the complete illustration of the subject. Altogether, it is a valuable addition to our war literature. Preeminently a book of details, it conforms to the great need of the time; for, as we have previously hinted, the irrepressible cry of to-day is for facts—the *tout ensemble* will be done hereafter, and by hands that are yet innocent of the responsibility of the ballot-box. If the reader hopes for revelations, however, he will be disappointed. Revelations about the author, indeed, there are plenty. We get frequent glimpses of his noble sentiments, of his detestation of the slave system, of his admiration of work and scorn of idleness, of his enthusiasm for Sherman, of his cogitations while dripping under a "fly tent" during a rain-storm, and of his night adventures in a Carolina slough. But revelations in respect to anybody else there are none.

Nevertheless, the book is full of interest. Military movements are divested of much of their enigmatical terminology and are made intelligible to the uninitiated. The chess-board of war becomes as easy to understand as simple addition. With the map turned back on the fly-leaf, and with the major as our cicerone, we can follow every move of the game. Hood is to the north; the Union bayonets are gleaming to the southward; Atlanta is flaming to the rear. We witness the defence of Altoona by Corse; we wind along the flexible line of Kilpatrick, now threatening Augusta, now dashing boldly, but alas too late, into the Union prison-hole at Millen; and we mark the straight black line of Logan, always firm to the right, and closing the first stage of its journey on the glacis of Fort McAllister. The campaign of the Carolinas is traced quite as vividly as that of Georgia.

We wish we had space to quote the description of the capture of Fort McAllister, but we will compound for the omission by an extract from the speech of an eccentric Georgian of quasi-Union tendencies, who seemed to take the destruction of his property as a dispensation of Divine Providence. He had been complaining of the cowardice of the original secessionists:

"It is these rich fellows who are making this war and keeping their precious bodies out of harm's way. There's John Franklin went through here the other day, running away from your army. *I could have played dominoes on his coat-tails.* There's my poor brother sick with small-pox at Macon, working for eleven dollars a month, and has n't got a cent of the d—d stuff for a year. 'Leven dollars a month and eleven thousand bullets a minute. I do n't believe in it, sir!'"

It was not always that this universal devastation was so stoically viewed. We have a vivid and painful picture of women in tears, of old men broken down, stunned, almost foolish under this stroke of war, of houses, corn-stacks, wheat-fields, blazing along the route—the great inland army sweeping on as relentlessly and terribly as a fire on a Western prairie. Unavoidable, salutary; it is nevertheless sad. It was the plague—scorched at by the stern feudal lord when it was afar off, and afflicting only the innocent and the lowly—now stalking through the palace doors and penetrating the loved chamber. Even to-day the effects are still felt, and the latest news from Columbia and other places in South Carolina is of stark misery and starvation; while the worst of all is that these people, cast down as they are,

still have the adder sting; and, if Northern philanthropy should bring them aid, would take the gift and curse the giver. Of their helplessness the following bits of conversation are illustrative:

A highly cultivated lady said to me:

"It is terrible, sir! All my slaves have left me; my plantation is broken up. I do n't know but the land will be given to my slaves. I have no money, or but little. I shall have to starve or work!"

"Well, madam," I replied, "I really would n't advise you to starve. Supposing you do work?"

"But I never did such a thing in all my life!" she answered.

Mrs. —, who had always passed her summer at the North, and had lived a life of perfect ease, found her income of \$20,000 a year swept away at a single blow. With the most charming innocence she protested to me:

"I really fear, sir, that I shall have to submit to the disgrace of giving lessons in music."

I was rude enough to reply:

"Madam, I hope so."

Thus far we have only considered Major Nichols's matter, but there is much to say about his manner also. Style, remarks Buffon, is the man himself; we trust that the present work is an exception to this rule. We prefer, indeed, to take the great naturalist's dictum as implying only a coincidence between the emotions of the individual at a particular moment, and the language by which those emotions are made known. An irascible man, when provoked, makes use of violent phrases, yet it would be unsafe to infer that his style is always violent. Now, in the work before us, we have an unpleasant impression of stilts. There is a dizzy elevation about it. One is in constant fear lest somebody should tumble. On the last page there is an engraving of an eagle with spread wings—and we cannot get over the idea that it has been flying through every page of the volume. Of course, high art requires the grand style, and the author had certainly a noble subject for his pen. Yet we confess to a wish that the flight had been a trifle closer earth. Its fault, however, is probably due less to the author than to his situation. He had not gotten over the effect of the campaign. The boom of cannon and the rattle of musketry were still in his ears. Thus his very sentences are photographic of the march. They have a dash of national music in them; but the instruments sometimes get dust-clogged. At one time they roll out as superbly as a cavalry charge, and again they are like a body of skirmishers entangled in a swamp.

A real military narrative of the march is still a desideratum. Major Nichols was, we believe, only an amateur, and joined General Sherman's staff more for his own convenience and comfort than for the purpose of soldiering. The working of the great design which underlay the march can only be described accurately by a professional hand.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE OIL REGIONS OF PENNSYLVANIA. By William Wright.—HARPER'S HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELLERS IN EUROPE AND THE EAST. Harper & Brothers, New York.  
THE WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. (Globe Edition). Edited by William George Clark and William Aldis Wright. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

## Science.

### DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS.

THE character of wormwood bitters (*liqueur d'absinthe*) has been much debated and little examined. They have been pronounced now pernicious, now harmless, and again an active poison; and wormwood has had to bear the blame as if it were at fault. Dr. Deschamps, of Avallon, has analyzed many different samples of these bitters, which all agree in being destitute of wormwood except in name. The liquor consists of alcohol colored with the juice of spinach, nettles, etc. Indigo and turmeric are also at times employed as coloring agents, but are quite innocuous. The mischief-maker is, as ever, the alcohol, at whose door must be laid all the brutal excesses of the intoxicated. The drink is truly dangerous, and tempts so strongly to continued indulgence that moderation is almost impossible.

—Señor Alvaro Reynoso, of Havana, has devised two new and highly important processes in the manufacture of sugar. To clarify the juice of the cane, he treats it first with the acid phosphate of alum, which eliminates the more persistent and injurious substances, and afterwards with the acid phosphate of lime, which eliminates the useless. The water of the sugar is then removed by artificial congelation, without the risk of change which accompanies the attempt to volatilize it. Thoroughness and economy are claimed for this method, which would be still cheaper if practised in the beet-growing districts of Europe—notably in Germany, Poland, and Russia—where the natural severity of the winters would enable the sugar-manufacturers to dispense with machinery for producing cold. An experiment on

a large scale is to be tried before a committee of the French Academy of Sciences.

—Every man his own gas-maker is likely to be a possibility in any apple-growing country. A discovery has been made in one of the French departments that the residuum of the cider press can be utilized by distillation. With only 200° (centigrade) of temperature a gas is produced that will burn without smoke or smell, and with a power of illumination superior to that of common gas, to make which from oil requires 1,000°. The cost of the former, meanwhile, is only one-fourth that of the latter, and the light coal which remains has also its uses and an appreciable value. The waste heat of our ordinary gas-works could be profitably put to the new distillation, but portable works have been contrived especially for this purpose, and can be owned by the most moderate establishments of town or country. There is evidently here a convenient source of mechanical power also.

—A superior writing ink, that flows easily from the pen, does not grow muddy in the inkstand, and does not clog the pen, is said to be made of pyrogallie acid and certain vegetable coloring matters.

—An experiment was made last month in the Champs Elysées with a post-chaise, to which were attached two horses, driven by a postilion. From a full trot the animals were put to their utmost speed, to represent run-aways. Suddenly, as if before some obstacle or precipice, the reins being supposed to have parted, the horses were detached from the vehicle, which, by a simple contrivance managed by the person in the chaise, was turned to the right or left, or even back, with reversed motion, according to the fancied danger. The separation was accomplished instantaneously, and the subsequent movements of the carriage directed with perfect ease and certainty. The experiment was repeated several times with complete satisfaction. The mechanism is said to be applicable to any conveyance.

## FISK & HATCH,

### BANKERS,

AND DEALERS IN

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,

AND

AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF

THE 7.30 POPULAR LOAN

5 NASSAU STREET,

(Continental Bank Building, near Wall Street).

DEPOSITS RECEIVED,

COLLECTIONS MADE.

ALL KINDS OF UNITED STATES

AND OTHER POPULAR

FIRST CLASS SECURITIES

BOUGHT AND SOLD AT MARKET RATES.

## VERMILYE & CO.,

### BANKERS,

44 Wall Street, N. Y.,

GOVERNMENT LOAN AGENTS,

KEEP ON HAND, FOR

IMMEDIATE DELIVERY,

THE ISSUES OF

7.30 TREASURY NOTES OF ALL DENOMINATIONS.

We BUY and SELL all classes of GOVERNMENT SECURITIES at market rates. ORDERS from BANKS and BANKERS executed on favorable terms, and with dispatch.

Also, receive DEPOSITS, and ALLOW INTEREST on current balances.

VERMILYE & CO.

BROWN, BROTHERS & CO.,

56 WALL STREET,

Issue, in New York, Circular Credits for Travellers, available in any part of the world.

## MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

Assets, July 1, 1865, over - - - - - \$13,000,000  
Cash Income, 1864, nearly - - - - - 3,000,000

FREDERICK S. WINSTON, President.

Offices, 144 and 146 Broadway, cor. Liberty St.

Endowment Policies, Ten-year Policies, and Life Policies are issued by this Company on the most favorable terms.

ALL THE POLICIES OF THIS COMPANY PARTICIPATE IN THE SURPLUS, THE WHOLE OF WHICH IS DIVIDED ANNUALLY IN THE MOST EQUITABLE MANNER AMONG THE POLICY-HOLDERS.

Dividends of return premiums will be paid in CASH, or may be used if preferred in the form of additional insurance.

### BOARD OF TRUSTEES:

FREDERICK S. WINSTON,	HENRY E. DAVIES,	ALEX. W. BRADFORD,
JOHN V. L. PRUYN,	OLIVER H. PALMER,	DAVID HOADLEY,
WILLIAM MOORE,	SAM'L E. SPROULL,	HENRY A. SMYTHE,
ROBERT H. MCCURDY,	SAM'L M. CORNELL,	WILLIAM V. BRADY,
ISAAC GREEN PEARSON,	LUCIUS ROBINSON,	W. E. DODGE,
MARTIN BATES, JR.,	W. SMITH BROWN,	GEORGE S. COE,
WILLIAM BETTS,	RICHARD PATRICK,	WM. K. STRONG,
JOHN P. YELVERTON,	WILLIAM H. POPHAM,	WM. M. VERMILYE,
JOHN WADSWORTH,	WILLIAM A. HAINES,	JOHN E. DEVELIN,
ALFRED EDWARDS,	EZRA WHEELER,	WELLINGTON CLAPP,
NATHANIEL HAYDEN,	SEYMOUR L. HUSTED,	M. M. FREEMAN,
JOHN M. STUART,	SAMUEL D. BABCOCK,	ALONZO CHILD.

Secretaries, { ISAAC ABBATT.  
                  { THEO. W. MORRIS.

Actuary, SHEPPARD HOMANS.  
Cashier, FRED. M. WINSTON.

Medical Examiners, { MINTURN POST, M.D.,  
                              { ISAAC L. KIP, M.D.

Counsel, { WILLIAM BETTS, LL.D.,  
                  { Hon. LUCIUS ROBINSON.

Attorney, RICHARD A. MCCURDY.

Applications and communications from persons in the undermentioned States to be through General Agents in their respective districts.

F. RATCHFORD STARR, General Agent at Philadelphia, for the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Delaware.

HALE REMINGTON, General Agent at Fall River, for the New England States.

H. B. MERRILL, General Agent at Detroit, Michigan, for the States of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

L. SPENCER GOBLE, General Agent at Newark, for the State of New Jersey.

J. A. RHODES, General Agent for New York and vicinity, office, 5 Wall Street.

H. S. HOMANS, General Agent at San Francisco, for California and Oregon.

## AETNA INSURANCE COMPANY, OF HARTFORD,

INCORPORATED 1819. CHARTER PERPETUAL.

Paid up Capital, - - - - - \$2,250,000 00

Assets, July 1, 1865, - - - - - 3,850,351 78

Losses Paid in 45 Years, - - - - - \$17,485,894 71

T. A. ALEXANDER, Pres't. L. J. HENDEE, Sec'y.  
JONA. GOODWIN, Jr., A. Sec'y.

Insurance against loss and damage by Fire, and of Inland Navigation.

NEW YORK AGENCY, 62 WALL STREET.

JAS. A. ALEXANDER, AGENT.

## PHENIX INSURANCE COMPANY,

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

OFFICES, 1 COURT STREET, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

" 139 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

CASH CAPITAL - - - - - \$1,000,000 00

ASSETS - - - - - 1,500,000 00

Insurance against Loss by Fire, Marine, Lake, Canal, and Inland Transportation.

STEPHEN CROWELL, President.

EDGAR W. CROWELL, Vice-President.

PHILANDER SHAW, Secretary.



**Marine and Fire Insurance.****METROPOLITAN INSURANCE COMPANY,**

108 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Cash Capital, - - - - - \$1,000,000  
 Surplus, over - - - - - 400,000

This Company insures at customary rates of premium against ALL MARINE AND INLAND NAVIGATION RISKS on CARGO or FREIGHT; also, against LOSS or DAMAGE by FIRE.

IF PREMIUMS ARE PAID IN GOLD, LOSSES WILL BE PAID IN GOLD.

The Assured receive 75 per cent. of the net profits without incurring any liability, or in lieu thereof, at their option, a liberal discount upon the premium.

All losses equitably adjusted and promptly paid.

SCRIP DIVIDEND, declared Jan. 10, 1865, FIFTY per cent.

JAMES LORIMER GRAHAM, President.  
 ROBERT M. C. GRAHAM, Vice-President.  
 EDWARD A. STANSBURY, 2d Vice-President.  
 JOHN C. GOODRIDGE, Secretary.

**ATLANTIC MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY,**

51 WALL STREET, cor. of William, NEW YORK.

JANUARY, 1865.

**Insures against Marine and Inland Navigation Risks.**

The WHOLE PROFITS of the Company revert to the ASSURED, and are divided ANNUALLY, upon the Premiums terminated during the year; and for which Certificates are issued, BEARING INTEREST until redeemed.

The Dividend was 40 per cent. in each of the years 1863-4 and 5.

The Profits for 22 years amount to the sum of.....\$19,691,020  
 Of which there has been redeemed by Cash.....12,653,730

The Company has—

ASSETS, OVER ELEVEN MILLION DOLLARS,

Viz.:

United States and State of New York Stock, City, Bank, and other Stocks.....\$4,974,700  
 Loans secured by Stocks and otherwise.....2,187,950  
 Premium Notes and Bills Receivable, Real Estate, Bond and Mortgages, and other securities.....3,140,530  
 United States Gold Coin.....541,890  
 Cash in Bank.....288,430  
 \$11,133,500

**TRUSTEES.**

John D. Jones,  
 Charles Dennis,  
 W. H. H. Moore,  
 Henry Colt,  
 Wm. C. Pickersgill,  
 Lewis Curtis,  
 Charles H. Russell,  
 Lowell Holbrook,  
 R. Warren Weston,  
 Royal Phelps,  
 Caleb Barstow,  
 Daniel S. Miller,  
 Joshua J. Henry,  
 Geo. G. Hobson,  
 David Lane,  
 James Bryce,  
 Wm. Sturgis,  
 Henry K. Bogert,  
 William E. Dodge,  
 Dennis Perkins,  
 Joseph Gaillard, Jr.,  
 J. Henry Burgoyne,  
 A. P. Pilot,  
 Cornelius Grinnell,  
 C. A. Hand,  
 Watts Sherman,  
 B. J. Howland,  
 Benj. Babcock,  
 Fletcher Westray,  
 Rob. B. Minturn, Jr.,  
 Gordon W. Burnham,  
 Frederick Chauncey,  
 James Low,  
 Charles H. Marshall,

JOHN D. JONES, President.  
 CHARLES DENNIS, Vice-President.  
 W. H. H. MOORE, 2d Vice-Pres't.

J. H. CHAPMAN, Acting Secretary.

**Insurance Scrip.****WILLIAM C. GILMAN,**

46 PINE STREET, NEW YORK,  
 BUYS AND SELLS INSURANCE SCRIP.

**THE****MORRIS FIRE AND INLAND INSURANCE COMPANY,**

COLUMBIAN BUILDING, 1 NASSAU STREET.

JUNE 1, 1865.

AUTHORIZED CAPITAL, \$5,000,000.

CASH CAPITAL, PAID IN, AND SURPLUS, \$885,040 57.

POLICIES OF INSURANCE AGAINST LOSS OR DAMAGE BY FIRE  
 Issued on the most Favorable Terms.

WM. M. WHITNEY, Secretary.

B. C. MORRIS, President.

**PACIFIC MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY,**

OFFICE, 111 BROADWAY.

ASSETS, January 1, 1865, - - - - - \$1,140,628 89

**DIVIDEND, Thirty-seven and One-half per cent.**

This Company insures against MARINE and INLAND NAVIGATION risks on Cargo and Freight.

No Time Risks, or risks upon Hulls of Vessels, are taken.

The Profits of the Company, ascertained, from January 10, 1855, to January

1, 1864, for which certificates were issued, amount to.....\$1,437,700 00

Additional profits from January 1, 1864, to January 1, 1865.....\$94,385 73

Total Profits for ten years.....\$1,762,085 73

The Certificates previous to 1862 have been redeemed by cash.....\$1,065,960 00

NEW YORK, Feb. 10, 1865.

ALFRED EDWARDS, Pres.

WM. LECONY, Vice-Pres.

THOMAS HALE, Secretary.

F. W. WORTH.

LOOMIS L. WHITE.

H. B. KEEN.

**WORTH, WHITE & KEEN,**

BANKERS,

47 WALL STREET,

(Offices formerly occupied by Messrs. W. C. Pickersgill & Co.)

**GOVERNMENT SECURITIES**

BOUGHT AND SOLD.

Orders executed in Gold, Railway Stocks, and Bonds, at the Stock Exchange.

Four per Cent. Interest allowed on all deposits.

**HOFFMAN FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.**

Office, 161 Broadway, New York.

Cash Capital, - - - - - \$200,000

JOSEPH W. WILDEY, Secretary.

WILLIAM B. DIXON, President.

**E. W. CLARK & CO.,**

BANKERS AND BROKERS,

35 SOUTH THIRD STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT BONDS AND TREASURY NOTES, CERTIFICATES

OF INDEBTEDNESS, QUARTERMASTERS' VOUCHERS,

COMPOUND INTEREST NOTES.

STOCKS and BONDS of all kinds BOUGHT and SOLD on COMMISSION.

**BILLS ON LONDON**

At Sixty Days' Sight and at Three Days' Sight, for sale by

WARD, CAMPBELL & CO.,

56 Wall Street, New York.

**FINANCIAL REVIEW.**

SATURDAY, A.M.

WALL STREET has been in a whirl of panic and excitement throughout the week on account of frauds, forgeries, and failures in very unexpected quarters. On Monday it was made known that one of the gold brokers had failed to pay for about \$130,000 out of \$170,000 gold delivered to him the previous Saturday in good faith; his checks on the bank for the currency value of the gold being refused as not good. But this case, though one of the most flagrant breaches of trust and honesty which could have been well perpetrated—marked by deliberation and a cold calculation of the chances of successfully converting the property of other brokers—was lost sight of next day in the astonishment of the Street at the forgeries of young Ketchum and the stoppage of payments of his father's wealthy banking-house of Ketchum, Son & Co. The particulars have been amplified and sufficiently dwelt upon by the daily press; we are, therefore, content to record in brief the manner of the forgeries; the causes which induced them; the unworthy uses which they were designed to subserve, and the previous abstraction of

good securities by the young man from the house of which he was a junior partner; and also the liabilities of the house to their depositors and correspondents the day they suddenly stopped payment.

The brokers keep their gold accounts with the Bank of New York, on a charge of \$1,000 per annum on each account, for the receipt, safe keeping, and disbursement of the gold. Each dealer is furnished with a Gold Check Book, the checks having running numbers printed on each, so that no two or more books can bear the same numbers on their checks. Young Ketchum was a member of the Stock Exchange, but both the house of Ketchum, Son & Co. and himself, for his private account, did most of their business through another member of the Exchange, Mr. Charles Graham, who was regarded as the broker of Messrs. Ketchum, and had credit on nearly all his transactions, as acting for the account of the house. As it turns out, most of his enormous purchases and sales were under orders from young Ketchum, and are disavowed by the house, since their failure. Graham left town at the close of June for summer recreation, and his office was placed in charge of quite a young partner under direction of young Ketchum, by whose orders (and it is now discovered for whose separate account) nearly all the business during his absence would be conducted. Graham had no gold account with the Bank of New York, but young Ketchum opened one for him, receiving a gold check book with 500 checks, numbered 58,501 to 59,000 inclusive. The rule of the Gold Exchange requires that no check shall exceed \$5,000. No deposit was made in Graham's name, but young Ketchum commenced the forgeries of the checks furnished from the bank in the names of some half a dozen other brokers who *did* keep accounts in the bank. To these checks, besides the names of the drawers, he also forged the certifications of the bank officers to make them "good" without presentation, and then borrowed money on them under pledge from the lenders that they should not be lent or otherwise used in the market, or presented for payment. The number of checks thus forged, at various times between the 27th June and 14th August, is ascertained to be 350 out of the 500. The number still in circulation or under hypothecation, not provided for, is 209. Assuming \$5,000 for each check, the gross forgeries would be \$1,750,000; the amount not provided for, \$1,045,000, of which sum \$595,000 falls upon two of the banks, \$100,000 on an Exchange Place banking firm; in both without other collateral to mitigate the loss. The remainder is distributed among various money-lenders, mixed with other and genuine collateral.

Young Ketchum had lost heavily in speculations earlier in the season. He sold stocks heavily *short* at low prices, and they reacted upon him under the lead of equally wealthy and older and more experienced operators. He had sold gold *short* on the turn of the market in February and March, but failed to get in all his profits, the pro-Southern gold houses having failed. He then bought heavily of gold; changed his position in stocks; bought heavily for a rise, and it is said made good his deficiencies by abstracting the securities and drawing on the funds of his firm. This brought him into the months of July and August, when with all the power and machinery and the large credit of his father's name and house, he could neither force up the price of gold so as to cover its cost and the expense of carrying on the speculation, nor take the additional supplies thrown on the market from the Treasury office, without resort to large additional collaterals, which he could no longer venture to abstract from his own house, but which he could and did forge in the manner above described. Nor could he turn suddenly the large mass of railway stocks which he had bought up at high rates, and the sequel of this extraordinary career was explosion, flight, and the ruin of his father's house, with unpaid liabilities to the amount of three and a half millions!

The house of Ketchum, Son & Co. have made an assignment, and Mr. M. Ketchum a separate assignment, for the benefit of their creditors. It is supposed, at present, that the estate will pay 50 or 60 cents on the dollar to the depositors, most of whom are New England banks and bankers.

For some days after the foregoing events, the general money market was much disturbed by loss of confidence rather than scarcity of supply. But on Friday there was more willingness evinced by lenders to meet the market at 7 per cent. The railways were also much depressed by the heavy sales of Erie, Central, Reading, and Western shares forced on the market on Monday night and Tuesday, by way of closing out the large amount held by the brokers for young Ketchum or his broker, Mr. Graham. There was a subsequent recovery, but not to the points of the previous week. The Government stocks held a very steady course, and are now firm. The speculations which led to the Ketchum and other explosions were seldom directed to U. S. stocks, but rather to gold and the railways. The operators found, in the sequel, too much of both for the measure of their ability to command, in an honest way, the greenbacks to pay for them, and yet, with singular in-

consistency with the facts of the case, a portion of the daily press assert that young Ketchum was the dupe, and the great house of his father the victim, of the Legal Tender Act!

The trade of the week has again been very active. The dry goods business, both in domestic and foreign fabrics, is brisk and remunerative. The July importations are found not to have been excessive in the total, nor in advance of the wants of the market. The amount of dry goods and general foreign merchandise marketed during the month was \$19,674,662, gold value, before the duties were assessed, and on this the Government collected for customs duties \$9,778,276 in gold. The August importation will probably exceed these figures, though not to a large difference. The customs of the present week will be about two millions; the exports of produce \$3,300,000; the receipts of cotton 19,400 bales. There is scarcely any export of gold, though the sale of exchange for this day's steamers having advanced to 100½ on London, we look for a partial resumption of gold shipments next week.

#### UNITED STATES SECURITIES.

The U. S. 5-20's are 106½ to 106¾ per cent. for the original issue; the second issue 104½ to 104¾; the 6's of 1881, 106¾ to 107; the 7.30's (all the series) after declining to 98½ on Tuesday's panic, are in large request, especially from small investors, and are up to 99½. The certificates of indebtedness steady at 97½ to 97¾ per cent.

#### STATE SECURITIES.

Tennessees have advanced from 72½ to 74, and returned again to 72½ per cent. Missouri are selling at 70½ to 70¾ per cent.

#### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

The mortgages of the railways stood the panic comparatively well, though the market was dull, and no large sums could have been sold without a serious decline.

Erie shares from 86½ last Saturday went down to 76½, and have since recovered to 82½ per cent. New York Central marks a decline from 92½ to 88½ and up to 91; Reading, 106½ to 98½ and up to 102½; Michigan Southern, 65½ to 60½ and up to 62½; Pittsburg, 70½ to 64 and up to 66½; North-west 28½ to 26 and up to 27½; North-west Preferred 62½ to 58½ and up to 61; Fort Wayne, 97½ to 92½ and up to 94; Rock Island, 108½ to 102 and up to 105½. The market still on the recovery at the close of the week.

#### MISCELLANEOUS SHARES.

The bank stocks are generally lower, owing to the recent frauds. The Phoenix, Importers', and Fourth National have suffered most. Atlantic Mail ran down to 125 per cent., and recovered to 135. The shares of Canton, Cumberland, and Quicksilver fluctuated 2 per cent. on the panic, but are on the upward move again in common with the railways.

#### GOLD AND EXCHANGE.

Gold fell to 140¼ per cent., but subsequently returned to 143½ on the firm appearance of exchange, which is now quoted at 109½ to 109¾ for gold.

## The Nation:

A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art.

This journal will not be the organ of any party, sect, or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration, and misrepresentation by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred.

The criticism of books and works of art will form one of its most prominent features; and pains will be taken to have this task performed in every case by writers possessing special qualifications for it.

It is intended, in the interest of investors, as well as of the public generally, to have questions of trade and finance treated every week by a writer whose position and character will give his articles an exceptional value, and render them a safe and trustworthy guide.

A special correspondent, who has been selected for his work with care, has started on a journey through the South. His letters will appear hereafter every week, and he is charged with the duty of simply reporting what he sees and hears, leaving the public as far as possible to draw its own inferences.

It embraces among its regular or occasional contributors the following names:

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW,  
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,

JOHN G. WHITTIER,  
SAMUEL ELIOT (Ex-President Trin. College, Hartford),  
PROFESSOR TORREY (Harvard),  
DR. FRANCIS LIEBER,  
PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH (Oxford),  
PROFESSOR CHILD (Harvard),  
HENRY JAMES,  
CHARLES E. NORTON,  
JUDGE BOND (Baltimore),  
EDMUND QUINCY,  
PROFESSOR W. D. WHITNEY (Yale),  
PROFESSOR D. C. GILMAN (Yale),  
JUDGE DALY,  
PROFESSOR DWIGHT (Columbia College),  
PROFESSOR TAYLER LEWIS (Schenectady),  
JUDGE WAYLAND,  
FREDERICK LAW OLNSTED,  
REV. DR. MCCLINTOCK,

REV. DR. JOS. P. THOMPSON,  
REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS,  
REV. DR. BELLOWES,  
C. J. STILLÉ,  
HENRY T. TUCKERMAN,  
BAYARD TAYLOR,  
C. A. BRISTED,  
C. L. BRACE,  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,  
SYDNEY GEORGE FISHER,  
THEODORE TILTON,  
JAMES PARTON,  
GAIL HAMILTON.

TERMS:—Three Dollars per annum, in advance; Six months, Two Dollars. When delivered by Carrier in New York or Brooklyn, Fifty Cents additional.

JOSEPH H. RICHARDS, PUBLISHER,  
130 Nassau street, N. Y.

### WILLIAM KNABE & CO.'S

Celebrated Gold Medal  
GRAND, SQUARE, AND UPRIGHT  
PIANOS.

These instruments have been for thirty years before the public, in competition with other instruments of first-class makers. They have, throughout that long period, maintained their reputation among the profession and the public as being unsurpassed in every quality found in a first-class Piano.

650 BROADWAY,

AND  
CROSBY'S OPERA HOUSE, CHICAGO, ILL.

J. BAUER & CO., Agents.

### ONE PRICE ONLY.

Writing Paper cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Envelopes cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Blank Books cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Memorandum Books cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Pens and Pencils cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Pocket-Books cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Portfolios cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Cash Boxes cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Stationers' Tinware cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Account Books cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.  
Black, Blue, and Red Ink cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau St.  
Arnold & Bosc's Fluid cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau St.  
Scrap Books cheap at LEACH'S, 86 Nassau Street.

### WILLIAM SELLERS & CO.,

1,600 HAMILTON STREET, PHILADELPHIA,  
MACHINISTS', FOUNDERS', SMITHS' and BOILER-  
MAKERS' TOOLS.

SHAFTING, with Ball and Socket Bearings and Double  
Cone Vice-Couplings, admitting of the easiest possible  
adjustment.

A complete assortment of PULLEY and WHEEL PAT-  
TERNS, from which Castings or finished work will be  
furnished.

RAILWAY EQUIPMENTS, TURNING and TRANSFER  
TABLES, and PIVOT BRIDGES.

Sole Manufacturers and Licensees of  
GIFFARD'S INJECTOR,  
For Feeding Boilers.

WILLIAM SELLERS.

JOHN SELLERS, JR.

### SCHOOL FURNITURE!

Lecture-Room and Sabbath-School Settees  
IN EVERY STYLE,  
MANUFACTURED BY

ROBERT PATON,

24 GROVE STREET, NEW YORK.

### The Horace Waters

Grand, Square, and Upright PIANOS, MELODEONS,  
HARMONIUMS, and CABINET ORGANS. Wholesale  
and retail, at reduced prices. To let, and rent allowed if  
purchased. Monthly payments received for the same.  
Second-hand Pianos at bargain prices \$90, \$75, \$100,  
\$125, \$150, \$175, \$200, and \$225. Factory and Warehouses,  
481 Broadway. Cash paid for second-hand Pianos.

### Great Improvements in Sewing Machines.

### EMPIRE SHUTTLE MACHINE!

Salesrooms, 536 Broadway, N. Y.,  
250 Washington Street, Boston.

This Machine is constructed on entirely new principles  
of mechanism, possessing many rare and valuable im-  
provements, having been examined by the most profound  
experts, and pronounced to be SIMPLICITY and PER-  
FECTION COMBINED.

It has a straight needle perpendicular action, makes the  
LOCK or SHUTTLE STITCH, which will neither RIP nor  
RAVEL, and is alike on both sides, performs perfect sew-  
ing on every description of material, from Leather to the  
finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen, or silk thread,  
from the coarsest to the finest number.

Having neither CAM nor COG WHEEL, and the least  
possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is  
EMPHATICALLY A NOISELESS MACHINE!

AGENTS WANTED where none are established, to whom  
a liberal discount will be given.

T. J. MCARTHUR & CO.,

Manufacturers and Proprietors,  
536 Broadway, N. Y.

### Hudson River Institute

Affords the very best advantages for a Classical, Scientific,  
Commercial, and Musical education. French Conversa-  
tion and Lewis's Gymnastics for Ladies, and Military  
Drill for Gentlemen daily, without extra charge. A new  
Gymnasium, costing \$6,000. Eighteen Instructors. Term  
opens September 11.

REV. ALONZO FLACK, A.M., Principal.  
Claverack, Col. Co., N. Y.

### T. C. SELLEW,

### MANUFACTURER OF DESKS AND

### OFFICE FURNITURE,

107 FULTON ST., near NASSAU ST., N. Y.

LIBRARY AND SCHOOL FURNITURE MADE TO  
ORDER.

### WHEELER & WILSON'S

LOCK-STITCH SEWING MACHINES,

625 BROADWAY.

### COOKING AND HEATING BY GAS.

EAGLE GAS COOKING STOVES AND  
RANGES,

GUARANTEED TO BAKE PERFECTLY.

HEATING STOVES, GUARANTEED TO HEAT ROOMS  
PERFECTLY.

Also,

### KEROSENE OIL COOKING STOVES,

The best in market, have regular SIDE OVENS, and guar-  
anteed to BAKE PERFECTLY, and not to Smoke or  
Smell.

EAGLE GAS STOVE MFG. CO.,

474 Broadway, N. Y.

Illustrated Catalogues sent free.

### GREAT CENTRAL ROUTE

TO THE WEST AND NORTH-WEST.

### MICHIGAN CENTRAL RAILROAD,

BETWEEN DETROIT AND CHICAGO, 284 MILES,

is one of the connecting links in the direct and shortest  
line of rail communication between the Atlantic seaboard  
and the Mississippi and the Northwest, and, with its con-  
nections, forming a through route unequalled for speed,  
safety, and comfort.

### WESTERN CONNECTIONS.

At CHICAGO (at the GREAT CENTRAL DEPOT, with  
the advantages of transfer of passengers and baggage  
within the same building) with the ILLINOIS CEN-  
TRAL RAILROAD, to all Central and Southern Illinois,  
Cairo, and lower Mississippi River points.  
With the CHICAGO, BURLINGTON & QUINCY RAIL-  
ROAD, to Galesburg, Burlington, and Quincy, and thence  
by the Burlington and Missouri Road to Southern Iowa,  
Council Bluffs, and Omaha City; and with the Hannibal  
and St. Joseph Railroad, to St. Joseph, Leavenworth,  
Lawrence, Kansas City, etc.

Also, convenient connection with the CHICAGO &  
NORTHWESTERN, the CHICAGO & ROCK ISLAND,  
and the ST. LOUIS, ALTON & CHICAGO RAILROADS.

### Luxurious Sleeping Cars accompany each Night Train.

RUTTAN'S PATENT VENTILATING AND ANTI-  
DUST ARRANGEMENT ON ALL DAY TRAINS.

### OFFICERS:

J. W. BROOKS, President, Boston.  
R. N. RICE, General Superintendent, Detroit.  
C. H. HURD, Assistant Superintendent, "  
H. E. SARGEANT, General Agent, Chicago.  
THOS. FRAZER, General Ticket Agent, Detroit.  
H. C. WENTWORTH, General Western Passenger Agent,  
Chicago.

Freight Contracts, Bills of Lading, and informa-  
tion furnished at the offices of the Company in the follow-  
ing places:

NEW YORK—Office 173 Broadway, C. E. Noble, Agent.  
BOSTON—Office 21 State Street, P. K. Randall, Agent.  
BUFFALO—Office Western opposite Mansion House, J.  
D. Hayes, Agent.  
ST. LOUIS—Office 11 City Building, Commercial Street,  
James Smith, Agent.

### EDDY'S

### KEROSENE COOKING AND HEATING Stoves and Ranges.

These Cooking Stoves will Bake, Boil, Stew, and Roast  
with the greatest economy and facility, and without  
heating the room in which they are used. They are per-  
fectly simple, operating like an ordinary Kerosene Lamp  
with a chimney, and are the only Kerosene Stoves that  
burn without smoke or odor.

"We have been perfectly astonished to see what a labor-  
saving, dirt-saving, and heat-saving institution is Eddy's  
PATENT KEROSENE STOVE. Taking the cost of running it,  
and the result attained, it is the best patent in the mar-  
ket."—*Worcester Daily Spy*.

Our Heating and Cooking Stoves are very convenient  
and economical, especially where a fire is required but a  
few hours at a time.

Orders for Stoves may be sent through American Adver-  
tising Agency, 389 Broadway, New York.

LESLEY & ELLIOT, MANUFACTURERS,  
494 BROADWAY, N. Y.

Send for Illustrated Circular.

### THE HOWE SEWING MACHINE CO.

ELIAS HOWE, Jr., Pres.,

629 BROADWAY.



**GARDEN & CEMETERY ADORNMENTS.**

FOUNTAINS, VASES, ETC., ETC.

**SUMMER HOUSES,**

ARBORS, CHAIRS, SETTEES, ETC.

*Wire Trellises and Arches*

FOR VINES, FLOWERS, ETC.

**IRON FURNITURE,****Bedsteads of every description**

For Dwellings, Public Institutions, Hospitals, Prisons, etc.

Patent Spring Beds, Mattresses, etc.

**STABLE FIXTURES,**

Hay Racks, Mangers, Stall Divisions, etc.

**IRON RAILING,**

For enclosing Cemetery Plots, Offices, Dwellings, Public Squares, etc.

Having purchased the business of the New York Wire Railing Company, HUTCHINSON & WICKERSHAM late Agents, we are now the exclusive Owners and Manufacturers of

Patent Wire Railing & Farm Fencing, Window Guards, etc.,

And we offer to the public the largest variety of ORNAMENTAL IRON GOODS to be found in the United States.

Particular attention given to Export trade.

**CHASE & CO.,****Warerooms 524 Broadway,**

OPPOSITE ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL, NEW YORK.

**PHELPS, DODGE & CO.,**

Importers and Dealers in

TIN-PLATE, SHEET-IRON, COPPER, BLOCK-TIN, WIRE, AND METALS GENERALLY;

Manufacturers of

COPPER, BRASS, and WIRE,

19 and 21 Cliff St., New York.

**DECKER BROTHERS,**

MANUFACTURERS OF

**PIANO-FORTES.**

FACTORY AND WAREHOUSES,

91 BLEECKER STREET,

(MARBLE BUILDING.)

One block west from Broadway, NEW YORK.

**MARVIN'S****PATENT FIRE AND BURGLAR SAFE.**

Superior to any others in the following particulars:

They are more fire-proof.

They are more burglar-proof.

They are perfectly dry.

They do not lose their fire-proof qualities by age.

Manufactured only by

MARVIN &amp; CO., 265 Broadway.

Send for a descriptive Circular.

**JESSUP & MOORE,**

27 NORTH SIXTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA,

123 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK,

**PAPER MANUFACTURERS,**

Have on hand, or make to order at short notice, all qualities of Book and News Printing Papers at current market prices.

**DEMULCENT SOAP,**

FOR CHAPPED AND TENDER HANDS,

FOR TOILET AND BATH USE.

MANUFACTURED ONLY BY

**J. C. HULL'S SON,**

32 PARK ROW, N. Y.

Upwards of 100 styles of Toilet and Staple Soaps. For sale by all Dealers.

**Benedict's Time,**

171 BROADWAY, COR. CORTLANDT ST., NEW YORK.

TO SOLDIERS.

**AMERICAN (WALTHAM) WATCHES.**

Let every soldier, before he returns home, provide himself with an AMERICAN WATCH; no better use can be made of money than to invest it in one of these durable and accurate time-pieces. It is a kind of property that constantly returns good interest, and its money value is so well-known that a pocket full of silver dollars wouldn't be as useful.

For sale and warranted by

BENEDICT BROTHERS, Jewelers,

Keepers of the City Time, and Agents for the sale of the American (Waltham) Watches,  
171 Broadway, cor. Cortlandt St.

**THE BEST SEWING-MACHINES IN THE WORLD.****THE WEED MACHINES,**

With all their valuable improvements, entirely overcome all imperfections. They are superior to all others for family and manufacturing purposes, simple in construction, durable in all their parts, and readily understood. They have certainty of stitch on all kinds of fabrics, and are adapted to a wide range of work without change or adjustment, using all kinds of thread. Will hem, fell, bind, gather, braid, tuck, quilt, cord, and, in fact, do all kinds of work required by families or manufacturers. We invite all persons in search of an instrument to execute any kind of sewing now done by machinery to inspect them, and recommend all parties engaging in the sale of sewing-machines to make sure they secure the best by examining the WEED before purchasing. They make the shuttle-stitch, which cannot be excelled for firmness, elasticity, durability, and elegance of finish. They have received the highest premiums in every instance where they have been exhibited in competition with other standard machines. The company being duly licensed, the machines are protected against infringements or litigation.

Reliable agents wanted, to whom we offer great inducements. Every explanation will be cheerfully given to all, whether they wish to purchase or not. Descriptive circulars, together with specimens of their work, will be furnished to all who desire them by mail or otherwise.

**WEED SEWING-MACHINE CO.,**

STORE, 506 BROADWAY, N. Y.

**FRANCIS & LOUTREL,**

45 MAIDEN LANE, NEW YORK,

STATIONERS, STEAM PRINTERS,

AND

BLANK-BOOK MANUFACTURERS,

Supply everything in their line at lowest prices. Every kind of Writing Paper, Account Books, Fancy and Staple Stationery, Diaries for 1866, Expense Books, etc. Orders solicited.

**STATIONERY.**

TO STATIONERS, BOOKSELLERS, AND NOTION DEALERS.

—The undersigned, being the oldest envelope manufacturers in this country, and having the amplest facilities, are always ready to supply, by the thousand or by the million, envelopes of every variety of size, pattern, and color, at the lowest prices.

Samples furnished when called for.

WM. P. LYON &amp; WHITEMORE,

537 Pearl St., New York.

**W. H. Schieffelin & Co.,**

SUCCESSORS TO

SCHIEFFELIN BROTHERS &amp; CO.,

Importers and Jobbers of

DRUGS,

Indigo, Corks, Sponges,

FANCY GOODS, PERFUMERY, ETC., ETC.,

170 and 172 William Street, N. Y.

**CARTER, KIRTLAND & CO.,**

Manufacturers and Jobbers of

**CLOTHING,**

340 BROADWAY,

NEW YORK,

OFFER TO FIRST-CLASS BUYERS A LARGE AND VERY COMPLETE STOCK OF

**FALL AND WINTER CLOTHING**

OF ALL GRADES,

EMBRACING FINE, MEDIUM, AND LOW-PRICED GOODS.

Having made extensive purchases at a time when all were sellers and very few were buyers, we are in a position to supply our customers upon the most favorable and advantageous terms.

Jobbers, Merchant Tailors, and Dealers generally will find it to their advantage to call and examine our stock before purchasing.

Particular attention paid to the execution of orders.

SAM'L CARTER,  
JOHN ROSE,WM. H. KIRTLAND,  
CHAS. B. PEET,  
JOHN H. WERTS, Special.**JOSEPH GILLOTT'S STEEL PENS**  
OF THE OLD STANDARD QUALITY.

TRADE MARK:

**Joseph GilloTT,  
Warranted.**

or Descriptive Name, and Designating Number.  
*New Series, Good and Cheap, from No. 700 to No. 761.*

TRADE MARK:

**Joseph GilloTT,  
Birmingham.** With Designating Numbers.

For sale by

JOSEPH GILLOTT & SONS,  
91 John Street, New York.

HENRY OWEN, Sole Agent.

**FINKLE & LYON'S**

IMPROVED

**LOCK-STITCH SEWING-MACHINE.**

N. B.—Money refunded if the Machine is not preferred to any in market for family use.

AGENTS WANTED.

538 Broadway, N. Y.

**Economical Housekeepers Use**

PYLE'S SALERATUS.

PYLE'S CREAM TARTAR.

PYLE'S O. K. SOAP.

PYLE'S BLUEING POWDER.

Articles designed for all who want the best goods, full weight. Sold by best Grocers everywhere. Each package bears the name of JAMES PYLE, Manufacturer, New York.

**Archer & Pancoast,**

9, 11, 13, 15, AND 17 MERCER STREET, NEW YORK,

Manufacturers of Gas and Coal Oil Fixtures, Chandeliers, Pendants, Brackets, Lamps, etc., etc., for home trade or exportation, as also the Patent Convex and other Lanterns for burning coal oil without a chimney.

Dealers are respectfully invited to examine our goods. Warehouses and Manufactory, 9, 11, 13, 15, and 17 Mercer Street, New York.

**THE BEST PIANO-FORTE****ONE THAT WILL LAST A LIFETIME.**

Seven First Premiums in four weeks; two Gold and one Silver Medals; six State Fairs and the American Institute have decided that WM. B. BRADBURY'S New Scale Piano-Fortes are "THE BEST." They "Excel all others in the Essentials of a Perfect Piano-Forte," viz., in Touch, Tone, Power, and thorough Workmanship.

"They are the best square piano-fortes I have ever played upon."—HARRY SANDERSON.

"They are very superior instruments."—GOTTSCALK.

"Their superior excellence fully proven."—W. BEBGE.

"I admire them in the highest degree."—G. W. MORGAN.

Call or send for a Circular, with Illustrations and Testimonials of the most eminent artists and amateurs.

WM. B. BRADBURY,

425 AND 427 BROOME STREET, NEW YORK.

